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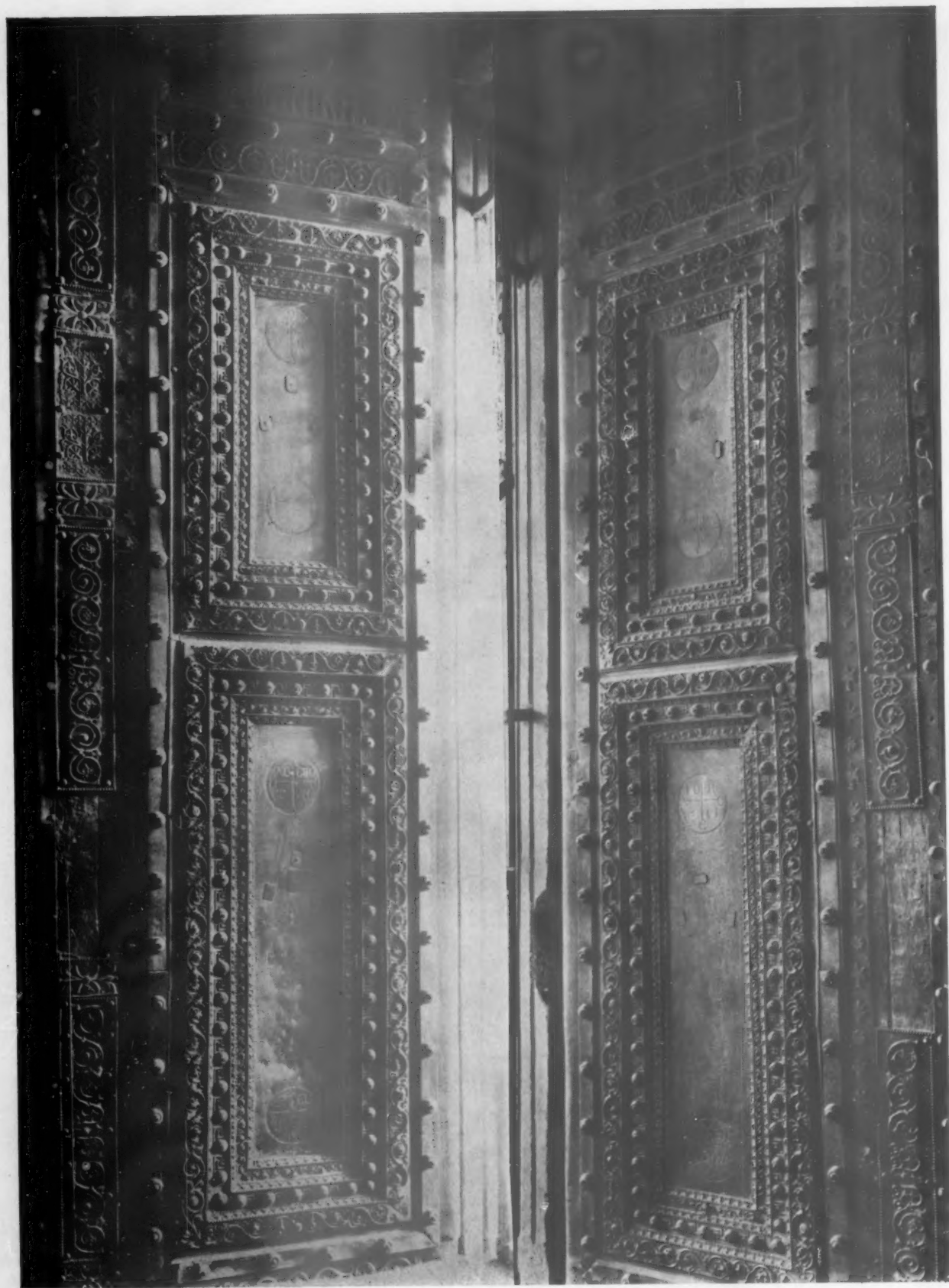


FIG. 1 — *Constantinople, Hagia Sophia: Bronze Doors of the Gate of the Horologium,
Seen from Within*

THE BRONZE DOORS OF THE GATE OF THE HOROLOGIUM AT HAGIA SOPHIA*

By EMERSON H. SWIFT

THE doorway which opens outward from the south end of the narthex of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople today gives access to a large, irregularly oblong chamber of uncertain date. The south doorway from this in turn opens to the exterior and may be identified as the Gate of the Horologium. Here stand the two great valves of a magnificent double door, "huge and lofty, and covered all with bronze,"¹ perhaps the finest examples of Byzantine ornamental bronze work that have come down to us (Fig. 1). Unfortunately, they have sagged and settled upon their hinges so much that they can no longer be moved to and fro but stand ajar motionless.² Each leaf is divided into two beautifully framed panels of unequal height, the taller below, the shorter above, both embraced by flat studded members, bordered on three sides by narrow rectangular strips of varied ornament, obviously coarser and less pleasing than that of the four panels. "One easily recognizes," writes Salzenberg, "from the composition and technical execution of the ornament, that he has before his eyes a work of very different periods" (Fig. 2),³ a conclusion which is strengthened by the varying thickness of the bronze itself.⁴ Of the heavier portions, the panels which fill the four beautiful frames first mentioned, as well as another at the top of the left-hand or eastern valve (Fig. 1), may be accurately dated in the second quarter of the ninth century. This is proved by an inscription in the upper part of the eastern leaf and by the eight elaborate paired monograms upon the panels within the four frames, which give the names of the emperors, Theophilus and Michael, as well as of Theodora, with the date 841 replacing an earlier erasure reading 838 (Fig. 3).⁵ The monograms are damascened in silver, a technique early popularized by the Byzantine metal workers and still represented by several fine doors of the eleventh century at Amalfi, Monte Cassino, and other places, which are known to have come from Constantinople.⁶

* I wish to acknowledge with thanks my indebtedness to Professor E. Baldwin Smith of Princeton University for valuable suggestions on the bibliography and monuments cited; also, to express my appreciation for permission granted me to reproduce in Figs. 4, 5, and 6 prints from the unique negatives of Syrian monuments, drawn from the archives of the expeditions led by the late Professor Howard Crosby Butler.

1. Ruy González de Clavijo, *Historia del gran Tamorlan*, Seville, 1582, p. 12.

2. The total width of the opening is 2.91 m., its height, 4.35 m.

3. *Allchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*, Berlin, 1854, pp. 88-89, pl. xix, figs. 1-4.

4. The bronze of the four frames is lighter and

more delicate, varying from 1/8 to 1/4 of an inch in thickness; the other plates are from 3/8 to 1/2 an inch thick. Cf. Salzenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 89, pl. xix, fig. 4. All the plates are overlaid on a wooden foundation between four and five inches thick.

5. E. M. Antoniadi, *Hagia Sophia*, Athens, 1907-1909, I, pp. 147-149, figs. 183-191.

6. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 618-619. The same author, in his *East Christian Art*, Oxford, 1925, p. 345, says: "The finest of such [damascened] doors were once to be seen at S. Paul's without the walls, Rome; but the great fire early in the nineteenth century has left only a few fragments." Cf. A. L. Frothingham, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVIII (1914), pp. 486 ff.

The exquisite design and execution of the four frames, of repeating motifs beautifully varied and combined, have given rise to many conjectures as to date and style. Fossati,⁷ Salzenberg,⁸ and Antoniadi⁹ assign them without hesitation to the "culminating period of Hellenic art," i. e., to the fifth century B. C. presumably, and suggest, either directly or by implication, that they might be spoils from some classic temple. Lethaby and Swainson seem to agree, declaring "the borders.... must be ancient," while the outer margins and the four monogrammed panels "belong to the Byzantine school."¹⁰ Dalton,¹¹ on the other hand, uncritically fails to distinguish between the frames and the monogrammed panels, placing them all in the ninth century. A study of the ornament itself demonstrates that both allocations are incorrect.

Next to an outer border of simple moldings occurs a broad band of crisp and gracefully rounded rinceaux (Fig. 2), separated by a single row of delicately worked pearls from a narrow concave molding decorated with an elaborate leaf-and-dart motif, the leaves of which resemble a flattened and simplified palmette or anthemion. Then, working inward, there is a flat band, somewhat narrower than that of the rinceaux, decorated with a double running fret, the swastika units of which are separated from each other by single, boldly projecting bosses rounded and turned in delicate recessions; the inner edge of the band is marked by a row of somewhat larger pearls. Next comes another concave leaf-and-dart molding similar to the first but with units of slightly larger scale. A narrow flat band, decorated with simple single leaf rinceaux, its inner edge outlined by a third row of pearls a little larger in scale than the second, occurs within this band, also. The final element of the composition consists of a third leaf-and-dart molding, concave and larger in scale than the second but otherwise similar. Of the various decorative motifs just described, the first rinceau is the most striking and may be taken as the starting point of an attempt to date the frames.

The rinceau motif does not appear in architecture before the Alexandrian age. The base of one of the great columns of the temple of Apollo at Branchidae, with a superbly carved rinceau, may be considered the earliest and almost the only example of a complete continuous rinceau in Greek architecture.¹² The Romans adopted the idea with such avidity that it became the most important of all their decorative forms; however, they changed and developed it considerably throughout the course of their history. In the Roman type, a round stem, springing from a cluster of acanthus leaves, branches out into scrolls winding upon alternate sides and each terminating, not in a point as in the Greek type, but in an elaborate flower or bunch of leaves. Each node of the stem is masked by a luxuriant cauliculus which springs from a calyx at its base, while such spaces as would otherwise have been left bare are often filled with subordinate scrolls and tendrils.¹³ The finest examples of Roman rinceaux in the exquisite naturalistic style of the Augustan period appear in the magnificent sculptured decorations of the Ara Pacis Augustae, dedicated at Rome in 13 B. C.¹⁴

7. *Aya Sofia*, London, 1852, p. 2.

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

9. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 147.

10. *Sancta Sophia*, London, 1894, p. 170.

11. *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 618.

12. A. D. F. Hamlin, *A History of Ornament*, New York, 1916, pp. 122-123, fig. 127.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154. Cf. also, Alois Riegl, *Stil-*

fragen, Berlin, 1923, pp. 248 ff., for a discussion of the Roman acanthus rinceau, its derivation, evolution, etc.

14. Eugen Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Vienna, 1902, pls. i, ii; also, P. Gusman, *L'art décoratif de Rome*, Paris, 1908, I, pl. xxv. Riegl, *op. cit.*, fig. 130, illustrates a similar but more simple rinceau in stone, from the Temple of Isis at Pompeii.

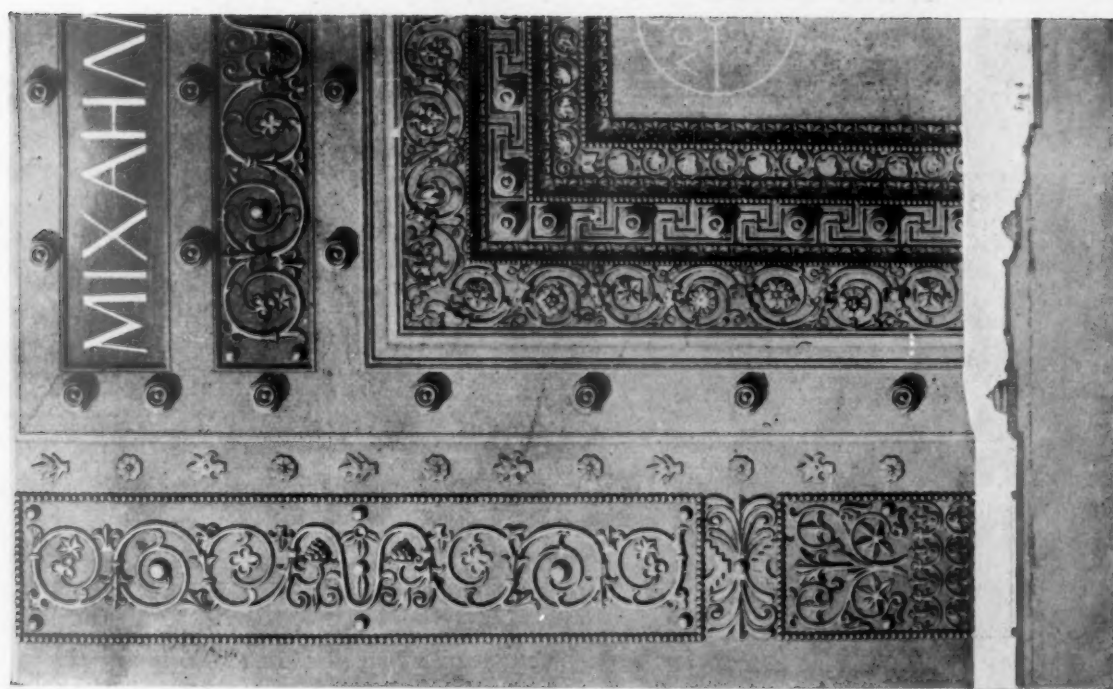


FIG. 2—The Bronze Doors: Detail and Section
of the Eastern Valve (From Altchristliche Baudenkmale
von Constantinopel, by W. Salzenberg)

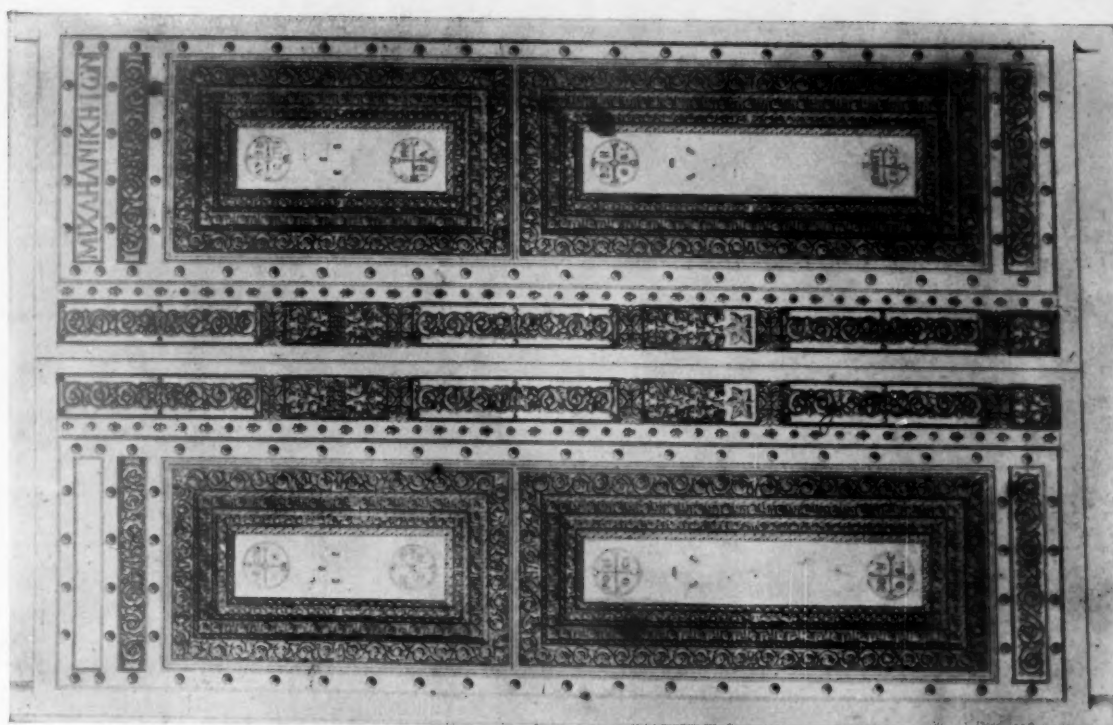


FIG. 3—The Bronze Doors: Elevation
(From Salzenberg)



FIG. 4—*Kanawât: Portal of the Eastern Basilica in the Serâyā. Second Quarter of II Century A. D.*



FIG. 5—*'Atīl: Detail of North Temple. 151 A. D.*



FIG. 6—*Mushennef: Entablature at South-west Angle of Temple. 171 A. D.*

The free and less rigidly stylized handling, the fanciful wealth of detail unhampered by considerations of absolute symmetry, and the introduction of animal forms, all go to prove that these must be of considerably earlier date than the rinceaux of the bronze doors of Hagia Sophia.

The evolution of the rinceau from the Augustan period onward may be traced with some certainty. Towards the period of Claudius the foliage tends to become weedy and heavy and to envelop the stem more and more thickly, until by the time of Domitian the leaves sometimes conceal it entirely.¹⁵ But, as these over-luxuriant, over-naturalistic forms spread to the eastern parts of the empire, particularly to Syria, during the following century, their weedy growth was, as it were, refined by the Hellenistic tradition and also checked and regularized by the increasingly powerful oriental feeling for ornament. This tendency is well illustrated by the rinceaux of the pilasters which flank the portal of the eastern basilica in the Serâyâ at Kanawât, in the Haurân region of southern Syria, dated in the second quarter of the second century (Fig. 4).¹⁶ Although the resemblance here in the general form and layout of the slender, graceful stems is close, the swirling leaves and large flowers are still naturalistic and flamboyant, less severely stylized and, hence, considerably earlier than those of the bronze doors. The same observation applies as forcefully to the rinceaux of the north temple at 'Atîl, dated 151, and to those of the temple at Mushennef, dated 171 (Figs. 5 and 6).¹⁷ We are therefore justified in suggesting that in the bronze doors of Hagia Sophia we are dealing with Syrian work or Syrian influence of the late second or early third century, an inference which receives striking confirmation in another element of their ornamentation—the double running fret with its swastika units separated by bosses. For this unusual handling of a familiar motif, the closest parallels again appear in the architecture of the Haurân, the first being found in fragments of the Nabataean Gate of Si^c, dated early in the first century A. D., where the boss between the units of the fret assumes the form of a circular disc with a round button at its center; the execution, however, is crude, soft, and careless (Fig. 7).¹⁸ In examples of much finer workmanship dating at the end of the second century the discs are supplanted either by flowers or human masks, rendered with a certain degree of naturalism (Figs. 5, 6, and 8).¹⁹ The extremely hard volcanic rock in which all this ornament is executed with such sharp precision suggests by its very nature, in color and in texture, that the designs here used would be eminently suitable for realization in bronze.

The simple single leaf rinceau of the bronze doors is found in varying form throughout the entire history and extent of Syrian architecture, from the Nabataean Gate at Si^c of the first century in the Haurân²⁰ to the church at il-Bârah of the fourth to fifth century

15. Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, London, 1907, pp. 63-64, 126, 230, and pl. xxxvi.

16. H. C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts, part II of Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*, New York, 1903, pp. 360-361, and illustrations.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-349, and illustrations.

18. Cf. *Publications of the Princeton University Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905, and 1909: div. II*,

Ancient Architecture in Syria, Leyden, 1915, by H. C. Butler, sect. A, ill. 340, frags. W, X.

19. Butler, *ibid.*, pl. on p. 320 (Tychaion, iṣ-Ṣanamên, A. D. 191), pl. xxiii (Temple of Zeus, Kanawât), ill. 317 (Temenos of Dêr-Smêdj, where the fret is adjoined by rinceaux); also, in *Architecture and Other Arts, part II*, pp. 318 (architrave at Shaḳḳā), 319 (architrave at Mushennef), 363-364 (architrave at Si^c).

20. *Ibid.*, ill. 340, frag. Z.

in northern Syria (Figs. 7 and 9);²¹ and since the single leaf grapevine rinceau, of which this is obviously a variant, appears broadcast in the art of the Near East in the early centuries A. D., it offers no reliable criterion of date. In style and execution, however, the simpler rinceau of the doors harmonizes perfectly with the beautiful outer rinceau of acanthus.

Another element which does offer indications of provenience and date appears in the rows of pearls which bound the outer edges of the three concave leaf-and-dart moldings. Pearls do not seem to occur either in Greek classic or in Hellenistic architecture, nor yet, with certain exceptions to be noted later, in the architecture of the Hellenized East, where the more delicate and beautiful bead-and-reel had long been firmly established. If, however, we turn to Rome and study a decidedly minor class of monuments, the sepulchral altars, it becomes possible to understand the origin and earlier evolution of the pearl border, a motif destined to play a considerable part in the history of mediaeval ornament.

Sepulchral fillets, or long strings of oval beads ending in a tassel, are often represented in early Roman imperial art as suspended, one on each side of a sepulchral wreath or inscription (Fig. 11);²² in an altar of the Flavian period the tassels have disappeared, the oval beads have become spherical and smaller in scale, and have coalesced with the inner edges of the two pilasters which flank the seated figure of the deceased (Fig. 12);²³ in an earlier altar of the Augustan period may be noted the rather inept use of a row of too heavy pearls as the lower element in the architectural moldings crowning an altar beautifully carved with plane leaves and a bucranium.²⁴ The precedent thus established in minor monuments seems in time to have made its influence felt in major works of architecture in the West, since a row of finely proportioned pearls is used as the lowest molding in the elaborate cornice of the triumphal arch at Orange, dated in the second century (Fig. 10).²⁵ Finally, in a Roman altar of the second century, or later, the heads of two rams are each encircled by a frame of pearls which is extended horizontally and joined, suggesting the characteristic outline of an Ionic capital.²⁶ There seems, then, to have been established in the West, during the first two or three centuries A. D., a type of architectural molding in the form of a narrow row of pearls used for bed-mold, border or enframingent, generally reserved for use in minor monuments. This conclusion is supported by an interesting bit of detail observable in the Rufius Probianus ivory at Berlin (Fig. 13), perhaps the finest extant example of the official diptychs, and a monument closely connected stylistically with the Symmachi-Nicomachi diptych, a Roman work dating in all probability 392-394.²⁷ In the background of the Probianus tablet to the left of the enthroned official is represented in low relief what appears to be a stele, either sculptured or painted, and divided into six paired compartments, each enframed with

21. M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale. Architecture civile et religieuse du I^{er} au VII^e siècle*, Paris, 1865, pl. lxii.

22. W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin, 1905, pl. i, and fig. 36; also, Gusman, *op. cit.*, II, pl. lxxviii.

23. Altmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 48, and p. 56, no. 12; also Strong, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxviii, and Gusman, *op. cit.*, I, pl. lvii.

24. Strong, *op. cit.*, pl. xxi; also, Gusman, *op. cit.*, III, pl. clxviii, I.

25. C. Uhde, *Die Konstruktionen und die Kunstformen der Architektur*, Berlin, 1904, III, fig. 137b.

26. Altmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 132, and p. 162, no. 204. For another example, see Gusman, *op. cit.*, II, pl. cxii.

27. A. Haseloff, *Ein altchristliches Relief*, etc., in *Jahrb. d. k. pr. Kunstsig.*, XXIV (1903), p. 55, and references cited, figs. 4, 6.

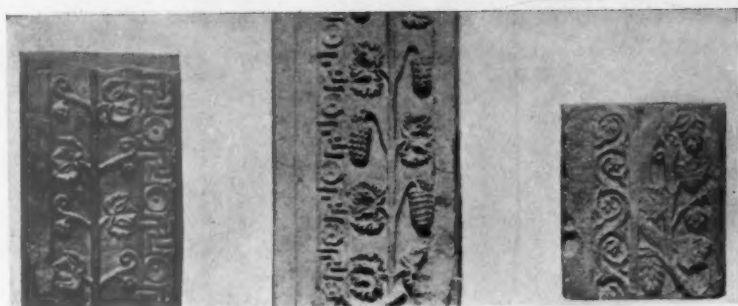


FIG. 7—Fragments of the Nabataean Gate at Siṭ.
Early I Century A. D.



FIG. 8—Tychaion of is-Sanamèn, Detail.
191 A. D. (From *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, by H. C. Butler)



FIG. 9—Il-Bârah Church, Detail of Lintel.
IV-V Century A. D.
(From *La Syrie Centrale*, by M. de Vogüé)

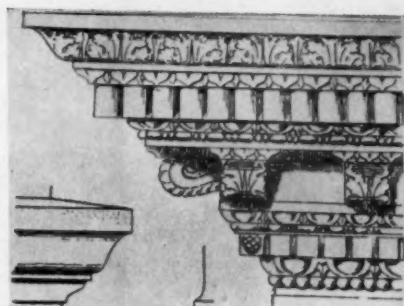


FIG. 10—Triumphal Arch at Orange, Details
(From *Die Konstruktionen und die Kunstformen der Architektur*, by C. Uhde)



FIG. 11—Paris, Louvre: Altar of Amemptus. Second Quarter of I Century A. D.



FIG. 12—Rome, Vatican Museum: An Altar of the Flavian Period



FIG. 13—Berlin: A Leaf of the Diptych of Rufius Probianus.
Late IV Century A. D.



FIG. 14—Paris: *Philoxenus*
Diptych. 525 A. D.



FIG. 15—Florence: *Ivory*
Relief of a Byzantine Empress.
VI Century A. D.



FIG. 16—Milan: *Trivulzio*
Ivory. Late
IV Century A. D.

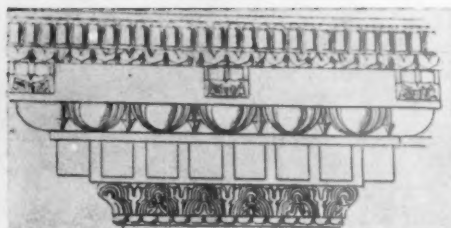


FIG. 17—Detail from the Arch of
Constantine at Rome. 312 A. D.
(From Uhde)



FIG. 18—Ornamental Molding
of the Nave Piers, Hagia Sophia
(From Hagia Sophia,
by E. M. Antoniadi)



FIG. 19—Detail of
a Wall Crown in
the Triforium, Hagia
Sophia *(From Antoniadi)*



FIG. 20—Detail of Aisle Mosaics,
Hagia Sophia *(From Antoniadi)*

a row of large pearls. Stylistically, the diptych is closely allied also with the famous Trivulzio ivory, which most scholars now accept as Roman work.²⁸ Early in the following century the pearl motif appears in the architectural ornament of Syria as enrichment for the ribbonlike bands which are formed into running circles and used in the ornamentation of church lintels;²⁹ while in the sixth century the usage becomes widespread, continuing not only in the architecture of northern Syria³⁰ but occurring also on ivories, e. g., in the Philoxenus diptych (Fig. 14), dated 525,³¹ in the ornamentation of the elaborate thrones of Christ and the Virgin on a sixth century diptych in Berlin,³² etc. So great was the vogue of the pearl in sixth century Byzantium that it was soon widely used for personal adornment, in jewelry, costumes, and halos, as well as in furniture and fittings of all sorts (Fig. 15).³³

It is, however, in the final element of the decoration of the doors, the peculiar rosette-fan leaf-and-dart on a concave or slightly cyma shaped molding, thrice repeated in different scales, that we discover the most important corroborative evidence for date and stylistic influence. This rich and delicate variant of an earlier, severely classic motif rarely occurs in the art of the period and then only in an apparently circumscribed sphere of influence—Rome. An extremely close analogy in form, style, application, and general effect to the rosette-fan leaf-and-dart of the bronze frames may be observed in the enframing of the two panels of the Trivulzio ivory in Milan (Fig. 16),³⁴ a work which, as already noted, is generally agreed to exhibit stylistically the finest Roman tradition of the late fourth century, and, in turn, to be very closely associated with the famous wooden doors of S. Sabina in Rome.³⁵ Significantly enough, the inner decorated enframing of every panel of the latter shows also the rosette-fan leaf-and-dart motif but rendered in a coarser, more coloristic and obviously later manner, agreeing well with the theory that the doors are contemporaneous with the church and hence to be dated c. A. D. 430.³⁶ An outstanding peculiarity of the motif as it appears in the two last-named monuments, as well as in the bronze doors of Hagia Sophia, is that the dart, which alternates with the rosette-fan, tends to break down and assume the form of a tuliplike flower,³⁷ which, according to Weigand,³⁸ is a mark of Roman workmanship. Furthermore, the rosette-fan itself can be traced in Roman architecture from Etruscan times down to the fourth

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57; Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 191; E. Baldwin Smith, *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France in Art Studies*, 1924, p. 190, note 22.

29. For example, that of the east church at Ksédjbeh in northern Syria, dated 414, and of the church of St. Paul and Moses at Dār Kītā, dated 418. Cf. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria...*, div. II, sect. B, ills. 170, 189.

30. Cf. de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 140, pl. lxxxvii, the lintel at Behyō.

31. R. Delbrück, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1929, pl. xxix.

32. Otto Pelka, *Elfenbein*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 69-70, figs. 38, 39.

33. Note the use of pearls in the famous mosaics of Justinian and Theodora in S. Vitale at Ravenna, also in the tremendously elaborate costumes worn by royalty in the sixth and succeeding centuries.

34. E. Molinier, *Ivoires*, Paris, 1896, pl. vi; L. von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, Marburg, 1906-1909, fig. 65; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 191; Smith, *loc. cit.*

35. O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin, 1914, I, p. 187; J. Wiegand, *Das altchristliche Hauptportal an der Kirche der hl. Sabina*, Trier, 1900, pls. v, vii, xii, xx, etc.

36. Wulff, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 137-138.

37. This is the case with the bronze doors, although Salzenberg's illustration, *op. cit.*, pl. xix (our Fig. 2) and the available photographic reproductions do not make the point sufficiently clear.

38. E. Weigand, *Baalbek und Rom, die römische Reichskunst in ihrer Entwicklung und Differenzierung*, in *Jahrb. d. k. d. Archäologischen Instituts*, XXIX (1914), p. 73, note 2.

century³⁹ while a close parallel to the entire motif, the rosette-fan, tuliplike flower etc., is found on the Arch of Constantine, dated 312 (Fig. 17).⁴⁰ Although it is true that the execution of the ornament we are discussing appears, in the various examples cited, to be looser, more irregular and coloristic as compared with the fine precision of rendering of the bronze frames, this is entirely due to the difference in materials, and to the inherent superiority of bronze over marble, wood, or ivory for the execution of such crisp and delicate forms.

Before attempting to draw any definite conclusions from the facts presented, it may be well to summarize briefly the data thus far given. Of the ornamental motifs appearing in the bronze frames, three seem to be definitely of Syrian origin, namely, the two rinceaux and the double-fret-and-boss element; of these, the outer and more elaborate rinceau finds its closest parallels in the Haurân: in the east basilica at Kanawât, dated A. D. 125-150, in the Temple at 'Atil, dated 151, and in that at Mushennef, dated 171; the double-fret-and-boss likewise points to the Haurân, with a parallel in the Nabataean Gate at Si', of the first century A. D. another in the Tychaion of is-Şanamên, dated 191, and others elsewhere; the second and minor rinceau, used extensively in Nabataean and Syrian Christian work, yields no criterion of date. The two remaining motifs of the frames, the pearls and the rosette-fan leaf-and-dart, are as distinctly Western and Roman as the former are Syrian. The pearls, originating from the beaded fillets of early Roman altars, are used architecturally in the triumphal arch at Orange in the second century, as enframements on Roman altars of the second and third centuries, and on the Probianus diptych of c. 395; in the fifth and sixth centuries their use becomes widespread in the East. The rosette-fan leaf-and-dart is found on the Arch of Constantine (312), on the Trivulzio ivory (late fourth century), and on the doors of S. Sabina (c. 430).

From the foregoing indications we may conclude that the four bronze frames, the ornament of which we have been discussing, were cast probably during the second half of the fourth century, and that the work, showing an almost equal mingling of elements distinctively Syrian and motifs characteristically Roman, could have been done only at Constantinople. If this be granted, we can, with a considerable degree of certainty, advance the theory that in these uniquely handsome enframements is preserved to us a portion of an entrance doorway, perhaps the main portal, to the original church of Hagia Sophia, the church built by Constantius in 360 and destroyed by fire in 404.

The remaining ornamental panels, as well as the rather heavily turned bosses which appear in those portions of the bronze doors surrounding the fourth century frames described above, are obviously fragments of a second pair of doors, or perhaps of a reworking of the earlier doors themselves, executed in the sixth century, contemporaneously with the rebuilding of the church by Justinian. This conclusion is amply justified by two considerations. First, the heavier, flatter, less naturalistic, more coloristic style of the work is clearly of the sixth century; nevertheless, it is considerably influenced by the style of the earlier frames: in the use and general form of the bosses,

39. For example, cf. Gusman, *op. cit.*, II, pl. lxxi, and Smith, *loc. cit.*

40. Uhde, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 136.

in the somewhat heavier pearl enframements of the upright panels, and in the employment of the older Romano-Syrian type of rinceaux at a time when the rather weedy and very coloristic Greek type was dominant. The second consideration pertains to the type and detail of the ornament employed, many elements of which are duplicated in other parts of the church as built by Justinian; leaf types occurring in a molding of the great piers of the nave (Fig. 18),⁴¹ others in the top molding of the elaborate wall crown of the aisles,⁴² trefoils at the angles of lozenges decorating the balustrades of the triforium gallery,⁴³ a vine leaf or plane leaf repeated to form a wall crown in the triforium (Fig. 19),⁴⁴ trefoils or fleur-de-lis forms of the triforium balustrades,⁴⁵ etc.; pearl borders occurring in the top molding but one of the wall crown of the narthex,⁴⁶ in the bronze enframement of the great Royal Gate,⁴⁷ and those above and below the torus of the wall crown of the aisles.⁴⁸ The crenellated motifs, in pairs between the narrow vertical panels of the doors (Fig. 2), are found in a somewhat simpler form in the aisle mosaics (Fig. 20).⁴⁹

It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that the third and final phase of restoring or reworking the bronze doors was that carried out by Theophilus and Michael in 841, when the doors were probably assembled in their present form with four central panels, containing inlaid silver monograms, placed in the handsome fourth century frames. A single range of vertical studding of alternate single leaves and rosettes in debased and flattened form (Fig. 2), was added to each leaf between the vertical panels and range of bosses.

41. Antoniadis, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 203.

42. *Ibid.*, II, fig. 274.

43. *Ibid.*, II, figs. 330, 332.

44. *Ibid.*, II, fig. 347.

45. *Ibid.*, II, figs. 509, 511.

46. *Ibid.*, I, fig. 194.

47. *Ibid.*, I, fig. 199.

48. *Ibid.*, II, fig. 274.

49. *Ibid.*, II, figs. 276, 277, 279.

THE LATIN STYLE ON CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGI OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

By ALEXANDER COBURN SOPER

WITHIN the past generation, no more important contribution has been made toward a full understanding of late antique art in the West than the studies of Marion Lawrence in the field of fourth century Christian sarcophagi.¹ The basis of Miss Lawrence's work is a recognition of the essential duality of Early Christian sculpture; she has shown it clearly for the first time not as a simple decadence of one style but as a complex interaction of two, the native Latin tradition and a second wholly alien in technique and design. Her studies of the latter current have indicated its strong affinities with the Greek East, notably with the earlier pagan sarcophagi of Asia Minor assembled and defined by Morey.² In its Western form, this "Asiatic" style has been centered by Lawrence in Upper Italy and Provence, its influence being first felt in Rome at the mid-century. In detail the sculpture has been divided among several Northern ateliers and one or two clearly imitative in Rome. The largest subdivision, the columnar sarcophagi, seems to stem from work executed in Provence and thence exported to the south. In Upper Italy and Gaul, the ateliers produced the style's clearest epitome in the "city-gate" and "star-and-wreath" sarcophagi (Figs. 17, 18, 19, 26, 29, 47, 48).

The studies made by Lawrence concern almost exclusively the latter half of the century and the "Asiatic" style. No such work has been accomplished for the Latin tradition, which forms the other great division of fourth century Christian sculpture. Archaeologists have amused themselves for generations in discussing various un-coordinated and secondary aspects of the group, and in identifying the scenes from the Christian cycle which form its subject matter. In the sort of criticism accomplished by Lawrence, however, there exists an almost total vacuum of scholarship. I hope in some measure to fill this gap by the methods so conspicuously successful in the rival field, showing first the character and potentialities of the purely Latin style, in the early century, and then its relationship to the invading "Asiatic" current.

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Over fifty sculptures, intact or largely preserved, form the Latin group of typical frieze sarcophagi. The great majority are in Rome. Numerous examples are found in Gaul and Spain, but Italy outside of Rome is surprisingly poor in remains.³

1. M. Lawrence, *City-gate Sarcophagi*, in *Art Bulletin*, X (1927-8), pp. 1 ff.; *Columnar Sarcophagi in the Latin West*, *ibid.*, XIV (1932), pp. 103 ff. (hereafter noted as Lawrence, *City-gate*, and Lawrence, *Columnar*).

2. C. R. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia An-*

tonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi, in *Sardis*, V, 1, Princeton, 1924.

3. Any statistic will vary according to the number of fragments included. Considering only sarcophagi largely preserved, I have assembled: Rome, 31; elsewhere in Italy, 2; Gaul, 12; Spain, 9.



FIG. 1—Rome, Terme Museum: Front of Sarcophagus



FIG. 2—Madrid: Detail of Front of Sarcophagus



FIG. 3—Rome, Forum: Base of Column of Diocletian



FIG. 4—Rome, Lateran: Front of Sarcophagus



FIG. 5—*Rome, Lateran: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 6—*Rome, Lateran: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 7—*Syracuse: Front of Sarcophagus*

The almost invariable formula of the type is a trough carved on one side only with figures ranging from moderate to high relief (Fig. 1).⁴ In a design which fills the entire façade with figures and attempts no formal organization of its surface, the Christian frieze sarcophagus derives from pagan practice of the second and third centuries.⁵ Throughout both the early development and its Christian successor there runs at once a Latin sense of illusionistic depth which piles up figures in two or three planes of relief, and a coloristic reduction of the background to small pits of shadow; such later pagan sarcophagi as the Trojan in Madrid (Fig. 2)⁶ show already a stiffening of design into the vertical units typical of the fourth century. The Christian sculpture differs basically from the pagan, however, in adapting to the façade not a single unified scene but a half dozen or more, clearly derived in their abbreviation from the catacombs. Each has the form of a narrow vertical strip, capable of shrinkage under extreme crowding to the width of a single figure.

There are few manifestations of the aesthetic impulse less ingratiating, as a whole, than the typical Christian frieze sarcophagus. As sculpture it epitomizes the awkwardness of an age which has lost the classical beauty with no compensating gain of the mediaeval (Figs. 1, 20). In contrast to the sure decorative instinct of the "Asiatic" group, the frieze type betrays an almost total lack of any sense of style. There is no interest in the composition of the frieze as a whole. The figures are as individuals clumsy, ill-proportioned, and stiff; in their drapery the grooved folds of the third century are debased still further into a pattern of almost meaningless lines. The poverty of sculptural types (and a lack of interest in narrative variety inherited from the catacombs) forces the monotonous repetition of a few standard poses; the differences in representation between one scene and the next shrink usually to a variation simply in the minor attributes with which a stereotyped figure of Christ is provided, and a change of gesture. There is an equal poverty of subject matter. Just as the same pose and grouping is repeated in scene after scene, so the same narrow range of subjects is reiterated monotonously over and over throughout the great majority of frieze sarcophagi. The normal range includes seven illustrations from the Gospels, four from the Old Testament, and two from the acts of Peter.⁷ In addition, one of three alternative scenes of resurrection is usually present as a complement to the story of Lazarus, probably to be identified as the Raising of Jairus' Daughter and of the Widow's Son, and the Resurrection of the Dry Bones mentioned by Ezekiel (xxxvii: 1 ff.). Of these fourteen scenes, from six to nine will be used in the normal sarcophagus, reducing variations to the interchange of a few equally common groups. The possibility of variety, indeed, is minimized by the crowded composition of the frieze, which forces every scene into a narrow vertical unit and forbids the use of every subject not capable of such presentation. Thus, the most popular of all catacomb symbols of the Resurrection, the story of Jonah and

4. 11 sarcophagi of this type have also their ends carved in low relief; Rome, 4; Italy, 1; Gaul, 5; Spain, 1.

5. Cf. C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Berlin, 1890-1919.

6. *Ibid.*, II, 68, pl. 25.

7. Gospels: Raising of Lazarus; Healings of the Blind, the Paralytic, and the Woman with an Issue (or the Canaanite Woman); Miracles of Cana and of Loaves; Prophecy of Peter's Denial.

Old Testament: Adam and Eve; Sacrifice of Isaac; Daniel in Lions' Den; Moses receiving the Law.

Petrine cycle: Miracle of the Spring; Arrest.

his deliverance from the sea-monster, is completely barred from the normal frieze cycle for the obvious reason that even in its most abbreviated form it is a horizontal unit rather than a vertical, and consumes almost as much of the precious dimension of width as all of Christ's miracles put together.

Many scenes like the Jonah story—the Entry, the Adoration, the Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar, etc.—all impossible on the face of the normal sarcophagus because of their width, actually appear in a sort of attic on the lid (Fig. 1). Here an extremely long and low panel encourages precisely that development in width which is forbidden below. In these lid scenes, there tends therefore to be a freedom of treatment which contrasts strongly with the rigid conventionality of the façade. The eventual loosening of the frieze design (which I shall describe below) to include such widely extended scenes, seems the logical result of a period of experimentation with them on the lid.⁸

The group of typical frieze sarcophagi offers little encouragement to a scholarly analysis. It exists as a unit, almost incapable of clear differentiation. There is no development of subject matter or of treatment; themes and iconography repeat themselves in an endless reiteration. There is no clear development of style; the sculpture simply vacillates between mediocrity and worse. From such evidence it is hardly possible to do more than place the whole collection within the limits of the fourth century. Its size suggests an expansion of the sarcophagus market largely accomplished after the Edicts of Tolerance, when imperial patronage of Christianity had provided a multitude of believers wealthy enough for such luxurious burial. The long observed stylistic similarity between many of the frieze examples and official reliefs of the beginning of the century (column base of Diocletian, 303/4; Arch of Constantine, 315)⁹ indicates for the former an early date (Fig. 3). The approximate end of the series can be determined only by evidence not yet presented.¹⁰

A much smaller sub-group of frieze sarcophagi possesses exactly those qualities of change and development which are absent from the type in general. This is the series of double-register sarcophagi; a natural development from the normal to suit the ostentation of a wealthy few. The form is achieved not simply by the superposition of one single frieze upon another, but by the use as well of an additional element of design, a medallion or shell at the center containing portrait busts, usually of the deceased and his wife.¹¹ In this class I know of thirteen examples nearly intact, or

8. It is not possible to illustrate such a theory by an arrangement of specific monuments, since sarcophagi and lids of the frieze type are today mixed in an inextricable confusion. The development is clearly seen in the series of city-gate sarcophagi. The first, at Milan, tries out two scenes in its attic, the Adoration and the three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar (Fig. 29). In the later Ancona example the latter of these is raised to the dignity of a position on the right end (Fig. 18); in the example at Tolentino each scene has an end to itself (Lawrence, *City-gate*, figs. 3, 11, 14; J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929-32, pls. 188/2, 14/2, 73).

9. E. Strong, *La scultura romana*, Florence, 1926, II, pls. 65, 66, figs. 204-8; L. von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, Marburg, 1909, II, figs. 20, 21.

10. One date is given by Wilpert for a member of the group, a sarcophagus from the Cimitero di SS. Marco e Marcelliano (*Nuovo Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1903, p. 319; Wilpert, *Sarcofagi*, pl. 128/1). Here an inscription of 348 on the wall close by is used by Wilpert to argue a slight priority to that date for the sarcophagus itself.

11. The portrait medallion as the central motif of a single register sarcophagus had earlier been a favorite composition of pagan sculpture. Cf. E. Espérandieu, *Recueil générale des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1907-28, VIII, p. 376, at Cologne; here the three putti treading grapes in a trough below the medallion suggest the similar Christian composition with the three Hebrews in the Furnace.

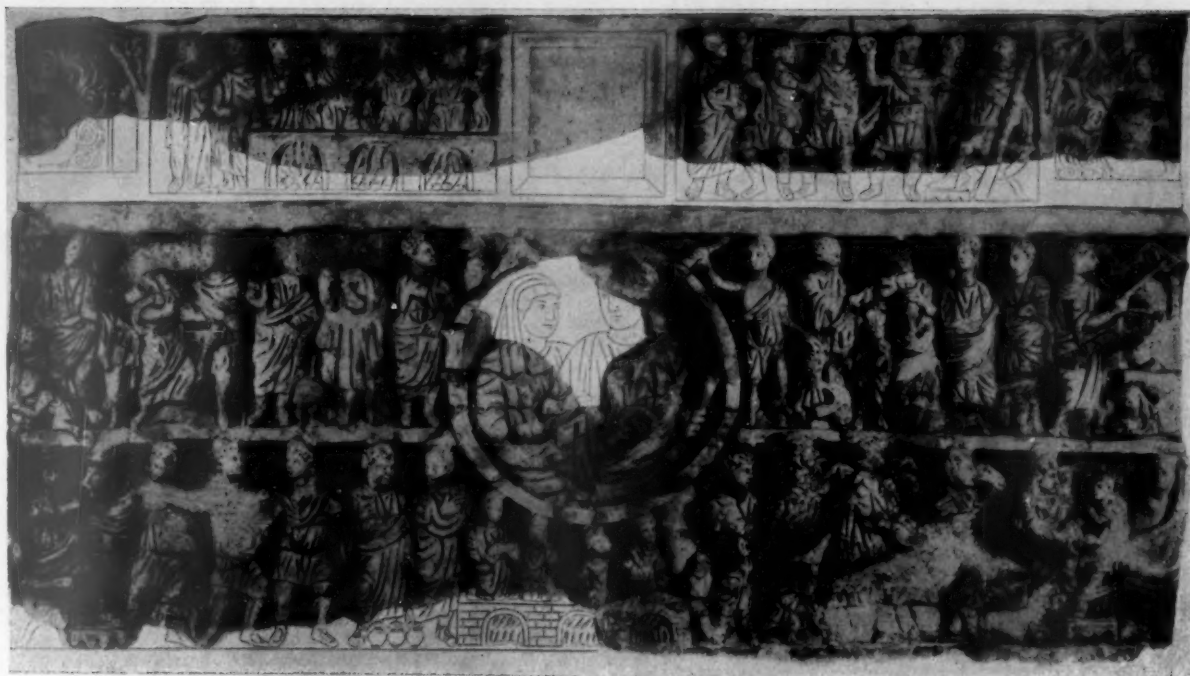


FIG. 8—*Rome, Crypt of S. Damaso: Front of Sarcophagus*

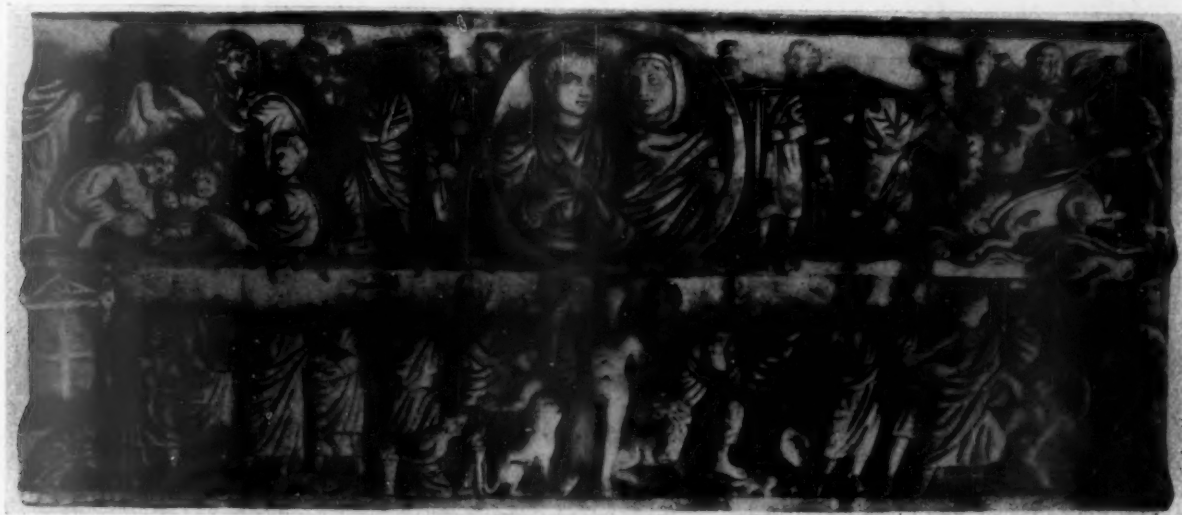


FIG. 9—*Pisa, Camposanto: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 10—*Avignon, Museum: Detail of Sarcophagus Lid*



FIG. 11—*Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 12—*Carcassonne, Musée du Château Comtal: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 13—*Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Detail of Sarcophagus Lid*



FIG. 14—*Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Front of Sarcophagus*

sufficiently preserved to allow a convincing reconstruction of the whole. Two of these are at Arles, one (hitherto unpublished) at Carcassonne, one at Pisa, one at Syracuse, and the remaining eight in Rome (Figs. 4-9, 11, 12, 14, 15).¹²

12. The brief notices below aim at convenience rather than completeness. In the case of the Lateran examples, fuller bibliographies are given by the catalogue of J. Ficker, *Die altchristl. Bildwerke im christl. Mus. des Laterans*, 1890. References below are to G. Bottari, *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma*, Rome, 1754 (valuable especially for evidence of restorations since the mid-eighteenth century); R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, Prato, 1881; O. Marucchi, *I Monumenti del Museo Cristiano Pio-Lateranense*, Milan, 1910; J. Wilpert, *I Sarcophagi cristiani antichi*, Rome, 1929-32; E. Leblant, *Etude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*, Paris, 1878; *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, Paris, 1886.

I. Rome, Lateran; from portico of S. M. in Trastevere, thence to Vatican. Bottari, III, 201; Garrucci, 364/2; Ficker, no. 184; Marucchi, p. 25, pl. 33; Wilpert, pl. 128/2 (Fig. 4).

Christ, Miracle of Loaves; Christ Prophesying Denial of Peter; Moses Receiving Law; medallion, busts of husband and wife; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Christ, Miracle of Raising Lazarus.

Lower register; orant female flanked by two bearded males; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Personifications of Seasons, Autumn, Summer, Winter; Daniel in Lions' Den; Christ, Miracle of Cana; Christ, Miracle of Healing Paralytic; Apostle Peter Smiting Rock.

II. Rome, Lateran; from Basilica di S. Sebastiano, Bottari, II, pl. 84, pp. 82-6; Garrucci, 367/3; Ficker no. 178; Marucchi, p. 23, pl. 30/4; Wilpert, pl. 86/3. Christ, Miracle of Raising Lazarus; Christ, Miracle of Loaves; conch, busts of husband and wife; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Christ Prophesying Denial of Peter; Adam and Eve Receiving Tasks.

Lower register; Moses Removing Sandal; Christ, Miracle of Healing Woman with Issue, or of Canaanite Woman; Christ, Miracle of Cana; Jonah Cast overboard, Cast up, and under the Gourd Vine; Daniel in Lions' Den; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Apostle Peter Smiting Rock.

III. Rome, Lateran; Garrucci, 367/1; Ficker, no. 175; Marucchi, p. 23, pl. 30/1; Wilpert, pl. 218/1 (Fig. 5). Christ, Miracle of Raising Lazarus; Christ, Prophesying Denial of Peter; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Moses Receiving Law; conch, busts of husband and wife; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Christ, Miracle of Raising Widow's Son; Apostle Peter Teaching (head wrongly restored as Christ).

Lower register; Apostle Peter Smiting Rock; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Christ, Miracle of Cana; Christ, Miracle of Canaanite Woman, or of healing Woman with Issue; Christ, Miracle of Loaves; Christ, Miracle of Healing Paralytic.

IV. Rome, Lateran; from basilica of S. Paolo f. l. m. Garrucci, 365/2; Ficker, no. 104; Marucchi, p. 14, pl. 14; Wilpert, pl. 96 (Fig. 6).

Trinity? Creation of Adam and Eve; Adam and Eve Receiving Tasks, and Fall of Man; medallion, busts of husband and wife; Christ, Miracle of Cana; Christ, Miracle of Loaves; Christ, Miracle of Raising Lazarus.

Lower register Adoration of Magi; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Daniel in Lions' Den; Christ, Prophesying Denial of Peter; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Apostle Peter Smiting Rock.

V. Arles, Musée Lapidaire. Leblant, Arles, p. 10, viii, pl. 6; Wilpert, pl. 122/3 (Fig. 11). Cain and Abel Presenting Offerings; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Moses Receiving Law; conch, busts of husband and wife; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Christ, Miracle of Loaves; Apostle Peter Teaching.

Lower register: orant female flanked by trees, male figure to left (Susanna and Elder?) Christ, Miracle of Cana; Daniel, Slaying Serpent; Jonah Cast overboard, Cast up, and under Gourd Vine; Adam and Eve, Fall of Man; Daniel in Lions' Den.

VI. Pisa, Camposanto. Garrucci, 364/3; Wilpert, pl. 157/2, pp. 241, 244 (Fig. 9). Moses, Miracle of Quail; medallion, busts of husband and wife; Israelites Crossing Red Sea and Destruction of Pharaoh's Army.

Lower register; Christ, Miracle of Raising Lazarus; Christ, Miracle of Loaves; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Daniel in Lions' Den; Moses Removing Sandal; Christ Prophesying Denial of Peter; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Apostle Peter Smiting Rock.

VII. Rome, Lateran; from Vatican. Bottari, I, pl. 40, p. 167; Garrucci, 358/1; Ficker, no. 212; Marucchi, p. 27, pl. 38; Wilpert, 157/1. Christ, Entry into Jerusalem; Christ, Miracle of Loaves; medallion, bust of child; Israelites Crossing Red Sea and Destruction of Pharaoh's Army.

Lower register; Apostle Peter Smiting Rock; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Christ Prophesying Denial of Peter; Adoration of Magi; male orant, nude; Adam and Eve and Tree; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Noah in Ark.

VIII. Rome, Lateran; from Basilica di S. Sebastiano, thence to the portico of the Pantheon. Bottari, II, pl. 89, pp. 101-4; Garrucci, 367/2; Ficker, no. 189; Marucchi, p. 25, pl. 34; Wilpert, pl. 218/2.

Christ, Entry into Jerusalem; Adam and Eve Receiving Tasks; Moses Receiving Law; conch, busts of husband and wife; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Christ, Miracle of Raising Widow's Son; Christ, Miracle of Loaves.

Lower register: Apostle Peter Smiting Rock; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Christ Prophesying Denial of Peter; Daniel in Lions' Den; Christ, Miracle of Healing of Paralytic; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Christ, Miracle of Canaanite Woman,

There are in addition several fragments, mostly in Rome; one of these, at Poitiers,

or of Healing Woman with Issue; Christ, Miracle of Cana.

IX. Rome, crypt of S. Damaso: Wilpert, pl. 129/2, p. 128 (Fig. 8). Apostle Peter Smiting Rock; Apostle Peter, Arrest; Christ Prophesying Denial of Peter; Moses Receiving Law; medallion, busts of husband and wife; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Christ, Miracle of Loaves; Christ, Miracle of Raising Lazarus.

Lower register: Three Hebrews Refusing to Worship Nebuchadnezzar's Image; Three Hebrews with Angel in Furnace; Christ, Miracle of Healing Paralytic; Adoration of Magi.

Lid: Three Hebrews with Angel in Furnace; Three Hebrews Refusing to Worship Nebuchadnezzar's Image.

X. Syracuse; found 1872 in a recess of the "Rotonda di Adelfia." Führer and Schultze, *Die altchr. Grabstätten Siziliens*, Jb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Ergänzungsheft 7, pp. 309 ff. pl. 4; Garrucci, 365/1; Wilpert, 92/2 (Fig. 7). Adam and Eve Receiving Tasks; Christ Prophesying Denial of Peter; Christ Miracle of Healing Woman with Issue; Moses Receiving Law; conch, busts of husband and wife; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Christ, Miracle of Loaves; Christ, Miracle of Raising Widow's Son.

Lower register; Three Hebrews Refusing to Worship Nebuchadnezzar's Image; Christ, Miracle of Cana; Adoration of Magi; Adam and Eve, Fall of Man; Christ, Entry into Jerusalem. The present lid is not original; Führer and Schultze, p. 313.

XI. Rome, Lateran, Sarcophagus of Two Brothers; once under altar in tribune of S. Paolo f. l. m., moved in 1586 to S. M. Maggiore, 1860 to Lateran. Garrucci, 358/3; Ficker, no. 55; Marucchi, p. 11, pl. 6; Wilpert, pl. 91 (Fig. 15). Christ, Miracle of Raising Lazarus and Miracle of Healing Woman with Issue or Canaanite Woman (cf. note 111 and p. 185 below); Christ Prophesying Denial by Peter; Moses Receiving Law; clipeus with busts of two brothers; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; Pilate Washing his Hands.

Lower register: Apostle Peter Smiting Rock, and Arrest; Daniel in Lions' Den; Apostle Peter Teaching; Christ, Miracle of Healing Blind Born; Christ, Miracle of Loaves.

XII. Carcassonne, Musée du Château Comtal; from Tournissan (Aude). L. Gary, *Bull. soc. études scientifiques de l'Aude*, IV, 1893, pp. 241 ff.; XXIV, 2508 and plate (Fig. 12). The ruinous state of this sarcophagus, which was discovered in use as a watering trough, makes the identification of some of its subject matter uncertain; the more so in those scenes which seem to parallel the second Arles sarcophagus, no. XIII below, in the use of unusually elaborate narrative detail.

Christ, Miracle of Raising Lazarus, and Miracle of Healing Martha, the Woman with an Issue (certain; for the identification of Martha see

p. 184 below); Christ Prophesying Denial of Peter (certain, cock on ground); Abraham Sacrificing Isaac (probable; the group seems to comprise a rock as indication of locality, the remains of the ram, Isaac perhaps seated on the altar, and Abraham); conch, busts of husband and wife; Moses Receiving Law (certain); Christ before Pilate (almost certain; the group comprises in the foreground plane, Christ wearing a pallium, a soldier in a short chiton, the servant bearing water, another soldier, the knees of the "assessor," the feet of Pilate, and the rock on which he sits. Cf. the Poitiers fragment as reconstructed by Wilpert, pl. 148/1, and p. 178 below).

Lower register: the entire left-hand quadrant seems devoted to the story of the Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar. This is the most controversial part of the sarcophagus, since whatever the subject its treatment seems without any close parallel elsewhere. An all-important clue is that of costume. The eight standing figures in high relief are all broken at the same level undoubtedly by reason of the loss of bare legs from the edge of a short chiton to the ankle. Between the legs drapery is indicated by incision on the background. Such remains can be explained only by the costume of Magi, soldiers, or the Three Hebrews; the latter, for example, on the city-gate sarcophagus at Ancona (Wilpert, pl. 14/2) wear the same sort of chiton, knee-length in front and falling half way down the calf in a skirt whose folds are visible between the legs. No figure in the group wears a pallium. The chiton is equally clear on the seated man at the right, belted in at the waist and leaving the legs bare. The two background figures at the left are both soldiers wearing the long chlamys. This exclusive use of military or "Persian" costume throughout the length of the quadrant probably indicates an elaborate version of the Hebrews' story, illustrating their refusal to worship before Nebuchadnezzar at the right, and their arrest at the left. The king's seat is usually a throne, but Gallic sarcophagi in other scenes often replace the throne by a rock (see note 113). The Image, probably a bust on a high column, may be represented by the fragment of stone just left of the conch, below the line dividing the registers. What is apparently a tree at the extreme left of the quadrant I can explain only as a decorative addition, balancing the stream of water which Moses is probably striking from the rock at the far right of the sarcophagus; or else as a unique reference to Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a "tree in the midst of the earth," in Daniel iv: 10 ff. Since the left end of the sarcophagus illustrates Daniel in the Lions' Den, this latter explanation would make the whole left quadrant and end a sequence of scenes from the Book of Daniel. An otherwise unexplained excrescence at the foot of the "tree" may represent one of the "beasts of the field" which "had shadow under it."

The zone beneath the clipeus, and the right-hand quadrant illustrate Pharaoh's Army in the



FIG. 15—*Rome, Lateran: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 16—*Rome, Grotte Vaticane: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIGS. 17, 18—*Ancona, Cathedral: Ends of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 19—*Aix, Museum: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 20—*Rome, Terme Museum: Front of Sarcophagus*

can be built up to at least half its original character with the help of old drawings (Fig. 31).¹³

Within this small group, tied together by a common formal structure, there is a range of variation which is all the more striking in comparison to the stereotyped monotony of the frieze sarcophagi in general. Two reasons for this contrast are obvious. The double-register sarcophagi were executed for a clientele whose great wealth must have made it the most susceptible of any in Rome to changing fashions and to new ideas introduced from the imperial capitals in the North and East. Again, with a surface for illustration almost twice as large as the normal, the new form escaped the greatest hindrance toward development. In the single frieze, the necessity of crowding a large number of almost obligatory scenes into an insufficient area forced the reduction of each subject to its barest bones, and prohibited the introduction of any new elements not susceptible of such handling as a narrow vertical unit. On the double frieze there is not only enough space so that the old scenes can be widened and elaborated by the addition of accessory figures; there is actually such a superfluity of room that the old narrow cycle cannot fill it, and the development of additional subjects is imperative.

This was an entirely new problem, and the struggle of Latin ateliers to meet it shows a clear progression. Several examples are timid in their solution. One seems even embarrassed (Fig. 4). The normal single-frieze cycle is apparently the sculptor's entire repertory of Christian subjects; when that fails to fill out the surface, he has to fall back on a pagan motif, the *putti* representing the Seasons. In one other sarcophagus, the newly added scenes are simply narrow vertical units like the old (Fig. 5).¹⁴ The majority of examples, however, show an increasingly bold use of scenes which extend radically in width. One of these, the Jonah story, had been the favorite subject of probably an earlier sarcophagus type;¹⁵ others, the Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar and in the Furnace, the Adoration, the Entry, and the Red Sea Crossing, had perhaps become familiar to the Latin workshops through their experimental use on the lid panels.¹⁶ In a sarcophagus like that at Syracuse (Fig. 7),¹⁷ undoubtedly an exportation from Rome, the sculptural field is so large that three such wide scenes can be added to the original repertory of ten narrow ones. The development goes even beyond this point in the sarcophagi of Gaul (Figs. 11, 12,

Red Sea, the Passage of the Israelites, and finally either the Miracle of the Quail (as on the Pisa sarcophagus no. VI) or Moses Striking Water from the Rock (as on the Aix Red Sea sarcophagus, Wilpert, pl. 97/2) or both.

Left end panel: Daniel in the Lions' Den. Right end panel: Adam and Eve and the Tree.

XIII. Arles, Musée Lapidaire. Leblant, Arles, p. 14, no. X, pl. VIII; Wilpert, pl. 195/4 (Fig. 14). Daniel Judging Elders; Abraham Sacrificing Isaac; medallion, busts of husband and wife; Moses Receiving Law; Susanna and Elders; Pilate Washing his Hands.

Lower register: Three Hebrews Refusing to Worship Nebuchadnezzar's Image; Daniel in Lions' Den; Pharaoh's Army in Red Sea, and Passage of Israelites.

13. At Poitiers: Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 148/1; Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, Paris, 1886, p. 81. At Die: Wilpert, *ibid.*, pl. 137/6. At Rome: *ibid.*, pls. 105/5, 105/6, 204/3, 217/5, and p. 16. At Berlin: from Rome, *ibid.*, pl. 205/4. At Arles: Espérandieu, *Recueil*, I, p. 164. The typical double-register form exhibits a number of less important variations. One of these, in which the central medallion is supplanted by a standing "marriage pair" the full height of both friezes, seems by its rarity to have been experimental (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 86/1, 2, in Rome). A cheaper variety combines frieze and strigil panels (e. g., *ibid.*, pls. 40, 148/2).

14. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 218/1.

15. *Ibid.*, pls. 1/2, 3/1 4/3, etc.

16. See below p. 175.

17. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 92/2.

14, 31). There the wide scene, which began simply as a filler-in, acquires such an independent popularity that it usurps the place of the original cycle. In the most extreme example, at Arles (Fig. 14),¹⁸ four very long illustrations exhaust almost the whole of the four quadrants, and of the traditional subjects only four remain.

With this marked loosening of the illustrative range, the progress of the series produces at the same time a considerable freedom in the handling of the newly adapted scenes. Some of these, like the Adoration, are of the sort that could hardly fail to become fixed in a simple iconographic formula from the start (e. g., Figs. 1, 6, 8). In the complicated illustration of the Red Sea Crossing, on the other hand, not one of the four versions is more than generally like the others (Figs. 9, 12, 14), and the same experimenting is evident in the scenes of the Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar (Figs. 7, 8, 12, 14). The process of stylistic growth and the continuity of an atelier method are most clearly recognizable in the three Gallic examples (Figs. 11, 12, 14). The seascape of Jonah under the clipeus of one Arles sarcophagus suggests the watery grave of Pharaoh on the other and at Carcassonne. On the first at Arles, again, the design of the Logos throned on His rock is obviously in the closest atelier connection with the Daniel of the second (for whom a rock seat is otherwise unheard of) and with the symmetrical Pilate, whose normal seat is the fald-stool; the one group of Susannah and the Elders on the first Arlesian example produces the more elaborate illustration of the second, including the Judgment of Daniel.

The most striking variation in the double-register series is the gap in style which separates one end from the other. Within the Roman group alone, the change is so abrupt as to be almost inexplicable; compared to the Lateran sarcophagus of the Two Brothers (Fig. 15),¹⁹ the rest seem on a common level of decadence with the whole frieze tradition. Here the Gallic series provides a stylistic transition lacking in the South. A visible continuity runs through the three in figure style no less than in iconography. The postures and groups of the first of Arles are still close to the stiff vertical units of the single-frieze method; Carcassonne is looser, showing figures from the back and in profile, and handling its escaping Israelites with a good deal of spirit; the second of Arles, finally, exhibits a freedom and assurance in grouping figures in space which is quite extraordinary. The stylistic development of the series forms a perfect contrast to the dead uniformity of the single-frieze type, and indeed to almost the whole of fourth century sculpture.²⁰

Archaeologists of a previous generation have devoted a certain amount of attention to various members of this group without ever considering it with any thoroughness as a whole. They have failed unanimously, I think, to recognize the quality of development and change which seems to me its prime essential. That failure is unquestionably the result of a conception of late antique art which until very recently amounted to almost a universal obsession: the belief that its course from decade to decade could

18. *Ibid.*, pl. 195/4.

19. *Ibid.*, pl. 91.

20. Of Lawrence's great "Asiatic" ateliers, not one possesses the variety and growth of the double-register series. Its closest approximation is the varied

handling of end panels in the city-gate group. Elsewhere each atelier multiplies through decades an idea once original, and changes only by combination with some equally stereotyped formula.

be only a simple degeneration. The critical examination of monuments, under such a system, consisted in their arrangement on a plane always slanting downward. For the double-register sarcophagi the irresistible solution was to place first, and well ahead of the others, the one example outstanding in quality, the sepulcher of the Two Brothers in the Lateran; the rest simply followed after in "ein unaufhaltsam fortschreitender Stilverfall."²¹

After this happy unanimity, however, previous scholarship has split irrevocably over the period at which the series should begin. The Two Brothers' sarcophagus has long been linked by criticism to another Roman double-register example, this in the columnar style: the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Fig. 16).²² The two stand so close in style and iconography that some sort of fairly intimate relationship between them is admitted by almost every scholar in the field. The sepulcher of Junius Bassus bears a long inscription with the date 359 A. D. For what may be called the orthodox school of Early Christian archaeologists, this date is sacred; the Two Brothers' sarcophagus comes close by, and the rest of the series extends through the latter half of the century.²³ For the opposing camp, the date is meaningless, since it records in their opinion not an original burial but a re-use of a sarcophagus carved much earlier.²⁴ This latter group of scholars has been interested in the sarcophagi primarily as monuments of late antique art in general, and only incidentally as Christian sculpture. From such a point of view, their preoccupation has been largely with an abstract development of style, and very little with the growth of illustrative content. Riegl, working in an almost perfect stylistic vacuum, places the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers at the middle of the third century because of its quality as sculpture, and vaguely distributes the remainder of the series in the earlier fourth because of formal resemblances to the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine.²⁵ Von Sybel adds to the stylistic method an elaborate discussion of fashions in costume and hair; with this advantage he follows Riegl to the end of the double-register series, and then abruptly places its ultimate member, the Lateran "Trinity" sarcophagus, in the middle of the fifth century because of a detail in the toga worn by the deceased (Fig. 6).²⁶

Wilpert, with interests antipodal to those of Riegl, has solved the problem in the

21. O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin, 1914, p. 123.

22. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 13.

23. This is the position pre-eminently of J. Ficker in his *Altchristliche Bildwerke im christlichen Museum des Laterans*, Rome, 1890. He sets the end of the series in the early fifth century with the so-called "Trinity sarcophagus," Lateran 104 (Fig. 6, Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 96). This was found under the high altar of S. Paolo f. l. m. close to the grave of the apostle; Ficker thinks the size of the stone precludes the possibility of its having been moved to that location from the earlier basilica of St. Paul, and that it dates therefore from the rebuilding under Honorius (p. 40)—a singularly unconvincing argument. The importance of a sepulcher worthy to be placed next to that of Paul can explain any labor of transfer from an earlier site.

24. Cf. Lawrence, *Columnar*, p. 128, note 55, for

a summary of opinion on the Junius Bassus sarcophagus. The heterodox third century date has been recently restated by J. Roosval in *Arkeologiska Studier*, 1932; and has been refuted in detail by F. Gerke, *Riv. di arch. christ.*, 1933, 1/2.

25. A. Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 178, 183. Riegl gives no definite opinion on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, which he had not been able to see satisfactorily.

26. Von Sybel, *Christ. Antike*, II, pp. 177 ff. In dating a group of monuments otherwise closely linked in style and iconography, the acceptance of a century's gap on the basis of a single detail seems to indicate a fundamental inadequacy of method. Too little is known of the late antique toga to warrant any such reliance on its variations; Sybel's "mid-fifth century" form seems to appear again on sarcophagi which he would undoubtedly have placed in the third (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 69/3, 84/5, and p. 87).

light of his own peculiar preoccupations. The date of 359 is to be accepted, but not too strictly, since the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, the Two Brothers', and any other sculpture of merit can be explained only as products of an artistic renaissance under Constantine (who died in 337). Wilpert believes that all good in Christian art of the earlier fourth century must be a result of the impetus afforded its expression by the piety and good works of the emperor and his court.²⁷ The year 359 could hardly have produced a work of such high quality as the Bassus sculpture, since it falls within the reign of the Apostate Julian, to whom Wilpert elsewhere denies even the poor honor of having set a fashion in beards.²⁸ Later in his discussion of sarcophagi, however, he so far forgets the piety of Constantine as to use the date without reservation.²⁹

The common characteristic of all of these systems has been an approach from one point of view only. On the basis of authority, the Bassus sarcophagus has been placed in 359; on the basis of sentiment, in the reign of the sainted Constantine; on the basis of style, in the mid-third century or even in the Antonine period. At the other end of the line, the Lateran "Trinity" sarcophagus has moved from a stylistic attribution to the mid-fourth, to an attribution to 410 based on its location when found; and has ended in the mid-fifth on a detail of costume. Such confusion is based on a fundamental error of method: an interest only in those aspects of the monument studied which illustrate a theory already formed; an examination which sees only those aspects, and is blind to all the rest.

For the problem of the double-register frieze sarcophagi, I propose rather a study like Lawrence's in the parallel field, as comprehensive and varied as possible in approach, considering all factors of any significance, and basing results on no single detail but rather on the combination of all.

A primary importance in the assembled evidence belongs, I believe, to the development of subject matter within the group. Equally significant are changes of detail in the method of illustration. A certain amount of secondary evidence is furnished on many sarcophagi by the portrait busts, with their indication of fashions in hair dressing. The criterion of style, so constantly used by earlier critics, I find in general so dangerous and confusing that its results must be accepted only after the most cautious reference to other factors.

A consideration of the variations in subject matter among the thirteen sarcophagi leads directly to their division into two well defined groups. The first comprises those examples which retain the typical cycle of the single frieze sarcophagi from which the more elaborate form developed, and if they add one or two new scenes, handle them like the old, as fairly narrow units of design. These, if other indications agree, should be theoretically earliest in date, and certainly represent the most primitive phase of the group. They are contained still very largely within the iconographic range of the Roman catacombs. I place them roughly in the 30's of the fourth century (Figs. 4, 5).

27. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, II, p. 14; *Röm. Quart.*, XXX (1922), p. 34. Wilpert here explains the low quality of the arch reliefs as due to the pagan senate

which ordered them, and in no wise as a reflection on the Christian emperor.

28. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, II, p. 7.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 313.

The second division comprises sarcophagi in which appear a number of entirely different scenes. These new subjects are practically unknown to the single frieze type; among them, only the Adoration of the Magi appears in the catacombs. They occur, on the other hand, in monuments studied by Lawrence which fall well within the latter half of the century. The Entry and the Pilate scene occur each three times within the group (Figs. 8, 12, 14, 15);³⁰ both are on the Bassus sarcophagus of around 359 (Fig. 16). The Adoration, and the scene of the Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar appear each in four double-register sarcophagi (Figs. 6, 7, 8; 7, 8, 12, 14);³¹ both are on three members of Lawrence's city-gate atelier, in Milan, Ancona, and Tolentino (Figs. 18, 29).³² The dating of the city-gate work, as established by Lawrence, is a matter of probabilities rather than proof. There has been, however, no serious quarrel with its results. Ancona and Tolentino lie apparently in the 90's, closely related to each other stylistically, and each naming a deceased owner whose period can be convincingly approximated.³³ Milan is clearly earlier in style; its only other indication is the use of the Constantinian monogram with Alpha and Omega, which in dated inscriptions does not appear before 355. Lawrence places the sarcophagus roughly in the 70's.³⁴

The Red Sea illustration is in three double-frieze examples (Figs. 9, 12, 14);³⁵ the scene is expanded to fill the whole face of the sarcophagus by an atelier whose work parallels in style the later city-gate members, and so lies at the end of the century (Fig. 19).³⁶

I do not suggest that the double-register sarcophagi which use the subjects are contemporary with the work of the city-gate and Red Sea ateliers, or even with the Bassus sepulcher. All that can be said of the evidence so far presented is that their parallels are with monuments of the latter half of the century, and that they seem, therefore, later than the primitive group first established above.

For the problem of changes in iconographic detail, an examination of the series reveals again two basic groups: one with its parallels all in the tradition of the single frieze sarcophagi or of the catacombs, the other related, rather, to monuments of the later part of the century. Two scenes show the contrast clearly: the Sacrifice of Isaac, and Moses receiving the Tables of the Law. For these the developed iconography is seen in four sarcophagi of the city-gate atelier, Milan, Paris, Ancona, and St. Peter's, Rome (Fig. 17),³⁷ and for the Sacrifice alone on two of Lawrence's Junius Bassus atelier, the Bassus itself and Lateran 174 (Lawrence's no. 20, Fig. 16);³⁸ Moses, wearing the pallium, is beardless. Abraham also wears the pallium; Isaac kneels on top of the altar of sacrifice (except in the Bassus version). In this last detail of the kneeling Isaac, the double-register series does not follow city-gate practice; its closest approximation is on the sarcophagus at Arles, where Isaac sits on the altar (Fig. 14).³⁹ The others show the scene as it is presented in the Bassus version.

30. *Ibid.*, pls. 92/2, 157/1, 218/2 (Entry); pls. 91, 195/4 and Carcassonne (Pilate).

31. *Ibid.*, pls. 92/2, 96, 129/2, 157/1 (Adoration); pls. 92/2, 129/2, 195/4 (Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar).

32. Lawrence, *City-gate*, figs. 3, 9, 11, 14; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 188/2, 14/2, 3, 73.

33. Lawrence, *City-gate*, pp. 8, 12.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

35. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 157/1, 157/2, 195/4.

36. Lawrence, *City-gate*, pp. 20 ff.

37. *Ibid.*, figs. 4-7, 10, 16, 17. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 189, 82/2, 3, 14/1, and p. 182.

38. *Ibid.*, pls. 13, 121/4.

39. *Ibid.*, pl. 195/4.

The primitive iconography of the Sacrifice appears in a great number of single-frieze sarcophagi: Abraham wears the shepherd's *exomis*, and Isaac kneels on the ground.⁴⁰ The figure of Moses Receiving the Law is not proper to the single-frieze type, since it almost invariably appears adjacent to a medallion or panel from whose corner projects the Hand of God. On the cover of a frieze sarcophagus in the Terme Museum it appears thus, next to a primitive Sacrifice (Fig. 20);⁴⁰ Moses here, as in the primitive members of the double-register series, is bearded.⁴¹

For an interesting variation in technical detail I am indebted to an observation of Gerke.⁴² The type of rock found almost universally in the single frieze tradition and in the probably earlier sarcophagi of the Jonah type, is a form which Gerke calls "concave." The surface is pitted with deep holes, hollowed by the drill; frequent connection of the motif with the scene of Jonah spewed forth upon the dry land suggests that it originated as an imitation of the fantastic erosion of rocks along the seacoast (Fig. 1).⁴³ The later technique is Gerke's "convex;" here the surface suggests rounded balls of clay, loosely piled together. This is invariable in the city-gate atelier as the mount on which Christ stands, Moses' Mt. Sinai, etc. (Fig. 26). Four of the double-frieze series clearly show the earlier handling (Figs. 4, 5, 9, 11), six the later convex (Figs. 7, 11, 12, 14, 15). One, at Arles, which for all other reasons seems a transitional monument between the primitive and developed groups, is equally on the border-line in its rocks, which apparently combine the two techniques (Fig. 11).⁴⁴

A final development in detail is the more valuable since it makes possible a rough differentiation even among the single-frieze sarcophagi. This concerns the form given the scene of Lazarus. For this there exists a strong single-frieze tradition, present in some fifteen sarcophagi and fragments in Rome, one in Pisa, four with two lost examples in Gaul, and five in Spain (Figs. 4, 5, 6, 8, 21, 30). Lazarus stands within the porch of a small two-columned aedicula, set on a podium and roofed with a gable. The sister, Mary, kneels in front of the podium or its steps.⁴⁵ There is a rudimentary wreath in the pediment field; the architectural members are simply molded, with no attempt at ornament. The building, as an atelier convention, is very similar to the small *tempietti* of several Meleager sarcophagi; the latest of these, apparently at the beginning of the fourth century, shows the crude mask acroteria which occur in one of the early double-register series.⁴⁶

The major change made in this scheme by later handling is an imitation in the aedicula of the architectural details of the columnar sarcophagi (Figs. 1, 5?, 12?, 15, 20, 22, 33, 34, 35, 37, 40, 41). All available moldings are ornamented, even the small bases of the columns; the capital approximates the conventional composite; the acroteria sometimes take the form of a palmette or of a mask. The podium receives a panel with carving, at the simplest a running vine (Fig. 40), at its most elaborate a

40. *Ibid.*, pl. 127/2.

41. Perhaps by confusion of the type with that of the bearded Peter, as in the Miracle of the Spring.

42. *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1934, 1/2, pp. 1 ff.

43. E. g., Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 9/3.

44. *Ibid.*, pl. 122/3.

45. In illustration of John xi: 32; "Then when Mary was come where Jesus was and saw Him, she

fell down at His feet saying unto Him, 'Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.'"

46. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III, pl. 58/82. The Meleager portrait here has the head type of Constantine Chlorus; the drill technique is similar to that of the earliest Christian frieze sarcophagi. The double-register example cited is Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 218/1.



FIG. 21—*Rome, Lateran:*
Detail of Sarcophagus Front



FIG. 22—*Rome, Terme Museum:*
Detail of Sarcophagus Front



FIG. 23—*London, British*
Museum: Medal of Helena



FIG. 24—*Berlin:*
Medal of Flaccilla



FIG. 25—*Rome, Torlonia*
Museum: Portrait

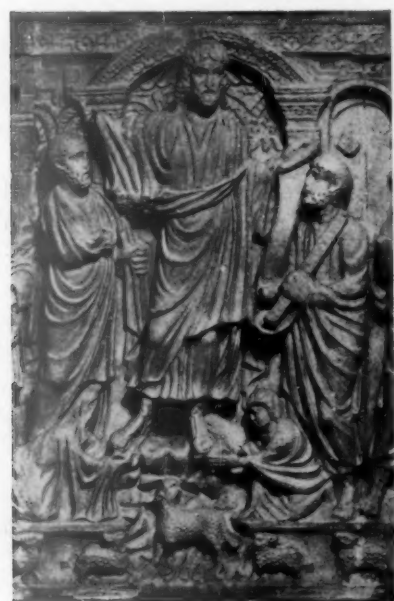


FIG. 26—*Milan, S. Ambrogio:*
Detail of Sarcophagus Front



FIG. 27—*Vienna, Hofbibliothek:*
Detail of Genesis



FIG. 28—*Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Front of Sarcophagus*

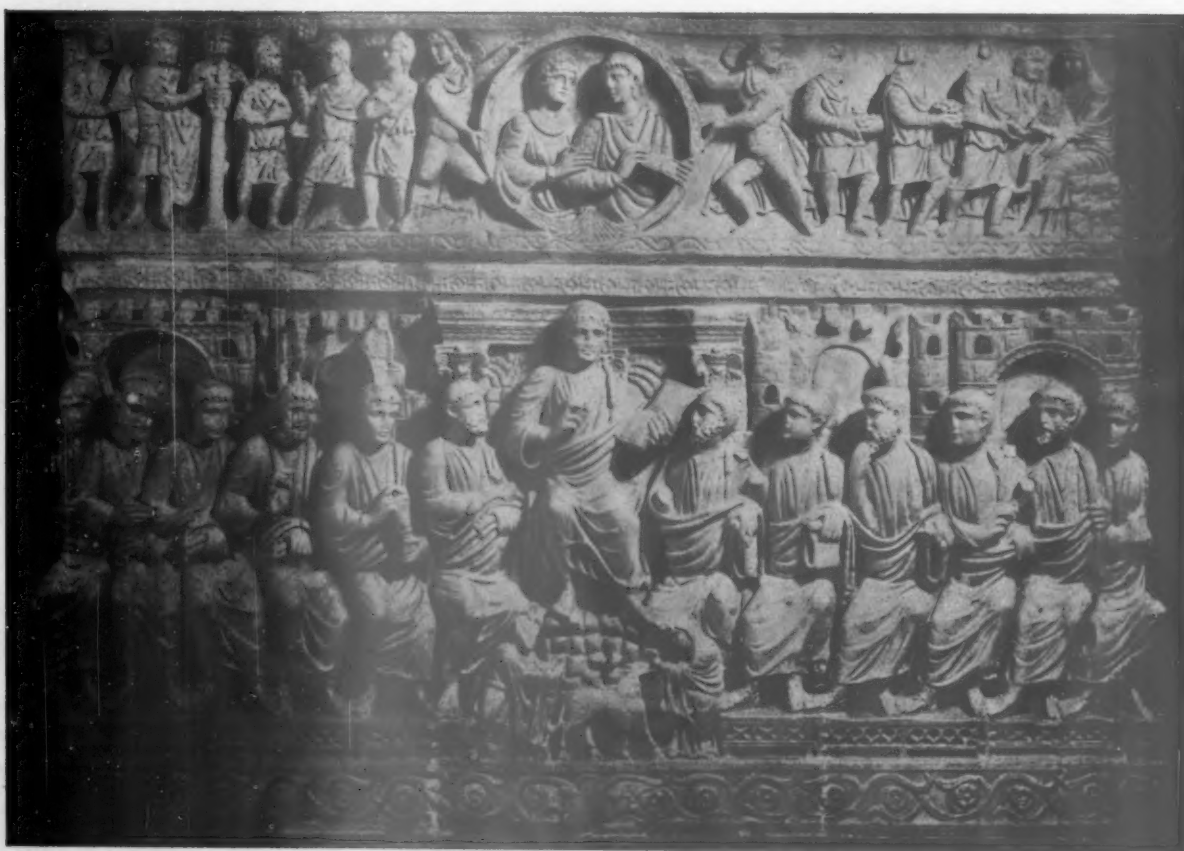


FIG. 29—*Milan, S. Ambrogio: Back of Sarcophagus*

small figure of Daniel and the Dragon of Babylon (Fig. 34).⁴⁷ The sister, finally, in a number of cases no longer appears in front of the tomb (Figs. 12, 15, 33, 34, 35 40).⁴⁸

The relationship of this iconography to the columnar sarcophagi, whose period Lawrence begins at the mid-century, indicates that it is a later development from the primitive type.

Last of all must be considered a detail of illustration whose importance lies in the indication it gives of a terminus for the whole double-register series. Out of almost two dozen sarcophagi which illustrate the scene of Pilate washing his hands, two are linked by a peculiarity which appears nowhere else: the placing of the water-container, Wilpert's clepsydra,⁴⁹ on a pier stand rather than the otherwise invariable tripod. These are the sarcophagi of the Two Brothers and of Bassus (Figs. 15, 16). Lawrence has shown how the latter's handling of the scene is in other respects a rather clumsy adaptation of a group like that on the Two Brothers;⁵⁰ the more intimate connection should draw the two fairly close in time, the more so since two later members of the Bassus atelier show the disappearance of the local variant in favor of the tripod (Fig. 32).⁵¹

Secondary evidence of some value may be derived from a study of the various arrangements given the hair of the wife; the more useful since these women so sumptuously buried must have followed every change of fashion with alacrity.

Three members of the series⁵² give to the wife a distinctive coiffure (Figs. 5-7). Double braids are wound round the head (in the unfinished "Trinity" sarcophagus, lack of detail gives these the look of a cap) and long lappets of hair fall over or behind the ears. In the classification of late imperial portraits recently made by Delbrueck,⁵³ this fashion is indicated as beginning around 330. In the long series of Helena's medals it appears only at the very end, and is closest to the sarcophagi in a posthumous medal of 335-7 (Fig. 23).⁵⁴ That the fashion was still in existence at the mid-century is shown by one of the rare dated sarcophagi, of 353.⁵⁵

Unfortunately, a gap of some fifty years in empress medals follows Helena, so that for the intervening period probability must take the place of proof. When the series of medals begins again, with Theodosius' first wife Flacilla in the early 80's, the fashion has changed completely, reverting to an arrangement seen on earlier portraits of Helena. The braids no longer are wound round the head, but are brought in back up the axis, to fold under and return at the top (Fig. 24). Delbrueck supposes that this coiffure may have been re-introduced around 375 by Constantia, wife of Gratian;⁵⁶ it appears on none of the double-register series.⁵⁷

47. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 152/5.

48. See below p. 180. The frescoes of the catacombs never show Mary kneeling in front of the tomb. This omission occurs in four otherwise primitive sarcophagi of Rome, and one in Spain; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 86/3, 114/1, 233/1, 233/9, and 219/3.

49. *Ibid.*, text, II, p. 317.

50. Lawrence, *Columnar*, p. 132.

51. *Ibid.*, no. 2; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 121. Lawrence, no. 26; Wilpert, pl. 146/3.

52. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 92, 96, 218/1 (head recut).

53. R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, pp. 46 ff.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 47, fig. 17, pl. 11. Note also medals around 330 of Constantia (pl. 11) and Basilia (pl. 75/3).

55. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 70/4. It occurs also on the sarcophagus dated by Wilpert before 348 (*ibid.*, pl. 128/1), on undated examples (*ibid.*, pls. 134/3, 259/1, 3), and in a fresco of the Virgin placed by Wilpert c. 350 (*Pittura delle catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, pls. 208-9).

56. Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-2.

57. It is seen on the Brescia ivory casket (J. Kollwitz, *Der Lipsantheke von Brescia*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, pls. 2, 3) and on the city-gate sarcophagus of Tolentino (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 94, Lawrence, *City-*

The style of 330 and thereafter seems to have persisted through the intervening half century at least in its essential feature of the double braids wound around the head. This is the coiffure of Job's wife on the Bassus sarcophagus (Fig. 16), and is datable even later on the Roman gold medallion of Valens, after 364;⁵⁸ the ear lappets have apparently disappeared. The first Arles sarcophagus (Fig. 11) is fairly similar to the arrangement of the Bassus. The second (Fig. 14), in which the braids are so wide and heavy as to look almost like a turban, closely matches two portrait heads published by Delbrueck, and placed by him around the middle of the century (Fig. 25).⁵⁹

In the case of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus, a generally derived attribution to the period of the Bassus, in the 50's, is strengthened through the beards worn by the two portraits. In the series of fourth century imperial medals, a similar beard appears on only two which indicate the possibility of influence over Roman fashions: worn short by Nepotianus, Augustus in Rome in 350; and worn long, as on the sarcophagus, by Julian as Augustus 360-3.⁶⁰

The forms in which the pallium is worn on the double-register sarcophagi should be noted, not as an index of chronology, but because they constitute an essential feature of the Latin tradition which throughout the series remains unchanged. In one, the lower half of the robe is handled very much like the late antique toga, falling from the back across the right leg and then caught up in a long curve over the left wrist. In the other basic form, the pallium seems still to be held by the left wrist; its lower corner hangs across the left leg at the ankle, and below it no under-robe is visible (Fig. 15—the Christ Raising Lazarus). On the Two Brothers' sarcophagus, where the drapery style is most fully developed, the traditional arrangements are used simply with a greater freedom and plasticity.

An entirely different style characterizes all sarcophagi of Lawrence's "Asiatic" class, whether columnar, city-gate, star-and-wreath, or Red Sea. Its unmistakable keynote is the fact that the lower corner of the pallium falls just above the left knee, and that below it is visible an undergarment hanging just above the ankle (Fig. 26). The invariable presence of this arrangement in purely "Asiatic" sarcophagi makes its appearance one of the surest indices of "Asiatic" influence in others whose character is more doubtful. It does not appear in any member of the double-register series.

The results gained by an application of the factors outlined above to the whole group of double-register sarcophagi may best be indicated in tabular form. For convenient reference, each member is given with its plate number in Wilpert's *Sarcophagi* following the letter W.

gate, pp. 11-12, *Columnar*, no. 99). The first of these is to be ascribed to the last quarter of the fourth century, the second is datable in the 90's.

58. Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, p. 49, fig. 18.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 49, figs. 19-20.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4, pl. 9.

		METHOD																ADDITIONAL SUBJECTS																	
		EARLY						DEVELOPED										SIMPLER								DEVELOPED									
		Moses bearded	Rocks concave	Abraham in exomis	Isaac on ground	Peter in chair	L's tomb: sister	L's tomb simple	L's tomb ornamented	L's tomb: no sister	Rocks convex	Peter on rock	Abraham in pallium	Moses beardless	Isaac on altar	Rear views	Plastic drapery	Pagan	Jonah	3 Hebrews in Furnace	Noah in Ark	Moses receiving Law	Moses removing sandal	Susanna & Elders	Peter Teaching	Daniel & Dragon	Logos Throned	Adoration of Magi	Entry to Jerusalem	Red Sea Crossing	Miracle of Quail	3 Hebrews & Image	Daniel & Susanna	Pilate	
Catacombs					V		V		V			V	V				V	V	V	V	V	V	V				V						?		
Single Frieze type		V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V																										
I	Rome; W. 128/2; Fig. 4	V	V	V	V		V	V									V				V														
II	» ; W. 86/3			V	V	V		V										V			V														
III	» ; W. 28/1; Fig. 5	V	?	V	V	V	V		?												V			V											
IV	» ; W. 96; Fig. 6						V	?										V									V	V							
V	Arles; W. 122/3; Fig. 11	?	V	V	V						V	V						V			V		V	V	V	V									
VI	Pisa; W. 157/2; Fig. 9		V	V	V		V	V													V									V	V				
VII	Rome; W. 157/1				V	V														V								V	V	V					
VIII	» ; W. 218/2	V			V					V		V									V								V						
IX	» ; W. 129/2; Fig. 8	?	V	V		V	V						V						V		V						V					V			
X	Syracuse; W. 92/2; Fig. 7			V	V						V		V								V						V	V					V		
XI	Rome; W. 91; Fig. 15				V				V	V	V	V	V		V	V					V			V									V		
XII	Carcassonne; Fig. 12				V				?	V	V		V	?		V					V								V	?	V	V	V		
XIII	Arles; W. 195/4; Fig. 14										V		V	?	V	V					V								V		V	V	V		
Rome, J. Bassus; W. 13					V						V		V				V											V						V	
» , Lateran 174; W. 121		V									V		V		V		V																	V	
City-gate atelier											V		V	V	V		V				V	V						V				V		V	

Two results most clearly presented by the table should be emphasized. The first is the division of the series into three fairly distinct groups: one linked to the primitive single-frieze type and to the catacombs, a second transitional, and the third having its parallels with the city-gate and Bassus ateliers, in the latter half of the century.

It is important, again, to note the character of the subjects used by the double-register series in addition to its inheritance from the single-frieze repertory. Of these new scenes three are from the Gospels, one from the story of Peter, and thirteen from the Old Testament. Of the scenes which are really new, in the sense that they either appear in the catacombs only with the fourth century or are not found in paintings at all, the distribution is as follows: Gospels, 2 (Entry, Pilate); Story of Peter, 1; Old Testament and Apocrypha 8 or 9 (Moses Receiving the Law, Moses Removing

his Sandals, Susanna and Elders, Creation of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel Presenting Gifts, Crossing the Red Sea, Miracle of the Quail, Daniel and the Babylonian Dragon, and probably Daniel's Judgment on the Elders).⁶¹ I shall return to this point in a later study in connection with the whole subject of the illustrative material available to Christian artists of the fourth century.

The end of the double-register development in Rome is epitomized by the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Fig. 16). I have already mentioned the close iconographic connections between this monument and that of the Two Brothers; I shall reiterate the intimacy of their relationship later in a discussion of style.⁶² The Bassus sculpture is further linked to the series by its double-register form and by its use of the Entry into Jerusalem. Its Adam and Eve, and Daniel, and the spandrel scenes enacted by lambs, indicate a descent from the Roman single-frieze and catacomb tradition; the harvesting *putti* on the ends seem almost an imitation of the Three Shepherds sarcophagus in the Lateran.⁶³ The use of the columnar arrangement, and a number of its characteristic illustrations, however, mark a fundamental departure from the Latin past.⁶⁴ Here, around 360, the strongest and most able element in Roman sculpture has surrendered to influences diametrically opposed to its own tradition. There could be no clearer indication of the change in sculptural fashions. Hereafter the chief effort of Latin ateliers will be to assimilate the new columnar style and to adapt their own methods to it; the frieze type will survive only in a substratum, or will appear radically altered.⁶⁵

The development of the double-register sarcophagus type in Rome is thus seen as the work of approximately a single generation, begun after the first quarter of the century, and reaching its culmination and end in the 50's, in the sarcophagi of the Two Brothers and of Junius Bassus.

No such convenient terminus exists in Gaul as the Bassus sepulcher in Rome. If one accepts Lawrence's theory of Provence as the focus of the columnar style, the decline of the rival Latin tradition should theoretically have proceeded somewhat earlier there than in Rome. The most striking link between the old and the new is provided by a small lid fragment at Arles (Fig. 13).⁶⁶ Its arrangement is the columnar

61. This Judgment is the interpretation given a scene in the catacomb of S. Callisto by Wilpert (*N. Bull. archeol. crist.*, III, 1897, p. 138; *Pitt. Cat.*, pl. 86). The iconography here is wholly unlike other versions, however, and the subject is correspondingly uncertain. Cabrol's *Dictionnaire*, I, col. 432, calls it a Martyr before Nero.

62. See below, pp. 186 f.

63. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 117/2-4.

64. Lawrence, *Columnar*, pp. 128 ff.

65. A few curious examples retain the frieze layout even at the high tide of the new style. Lateran 162 (Marucchi, pl. 26/2) has apparently suffered damage and restoration since the time of Bottari. In his drawing (*Sculture e pitture*, III, pl. 133/1), there are visible against a frieze layout, an Execution of Paul like that on the Bassus sarcophagus, and the Entry; Christ flanked by apostles, seated on a "mountain" with a receding curve in the sarcophagus border above Him which is obviously derived from a colum-

nar formula like that of the Lateran example, Lawrence no. 22 (Wilpert, pl. 121/1); and, finally, a purely Roman Daniel and Lazarus.

The double-register form continues in the minor service of providing panels at the ends of strigil sarcophagi. The finest of these, now lost, is preserved in Garrucci's drawing (*Storia dell'arte cristiana*, Prato, 1881, V, 364/1). The four corners all reproduce subjects of the old cycle: Cana, Lazarus, the Prophecy of the Denial, the Loaves. The handling of the Lazarus scene is like that developed form which in the Roman series appears only with the Two Brothers' sarcophagus (Fig. 15). All the figures, however, are draped in the "Asiatic" formula, with the corner of the pallium hanging at the level of the left knee and an under-robe showing beneath. The portrait of the wife shows the coiffure of the last decades of the century.

66. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 141/4.

alternation of gables and arches; the subjects and the figure style are wholly Latin, however, and the central bay shows a stocky, doll-like woman holding a scroll between trees who is almost a direct copy of the Susanna with the Elders on the second Arles double-register sarcophagus. The use of the columnar form on a lid rather than on the trough is a unique feature which suggests an early stage of experiment with a form not completely trusted; architectural details are correspondingly uncertain. This stone may well be contemporary with the second Arles example.

In Arles there exists also a double-register columnar sarcophagus (Fig. 28)⁶⁷ which marks, in a measure, the same turning point as that of Bassus. Here the change on the façade has been almost as complete in subject as in arrangement. The figure style and drapery are still Latin, however, and in a less assured way are fairly like the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers. Typical double-register subjects, the Adoration, the Entry, the Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar, and Cain and Abel Presenting their gifts, banned from the front by the narrowness of the columnar bays, appear on the ends. Here is marked the blow struck by the new fashion at what had been the most vital and energetic side of the Latin tradition: the ability, most marked in Gaul, to develop the frieze into long narrative scenes, extended in profile. For the composition of figure groups, at least, the new division of the façade into architectural bays forced a return to precisely that arrangement in rigid, narrow units from which the double-register series in Gaul had just succeeded in freeing itself. Having choked at its source the strongest impulse of the Latin style toward development, it produces thereafter a monotony almost as great as that of the single-frieze type.

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It will be of advantage to consider the possible sources of those elements whose progressive adoption marks the development of the series.

Here and in the work done by Lawrence, an obvious relationship has been demonstrated between the use of certain elements by the double-register sarcophagi and in the groups dominated by the city-gate atelier. To Lawrence that relationship suggests an influence from the North of Italy acting upon Rome, which in the case of one sarcophagus, that at Syracuse (Fig. 7) amounts even to an imitation of city-gate formulae in figure style. With this theory I find myself in complete disagreement.⁶⁸

67. *Ibid.*, pls. 125/2, 242/1, 2. Lawrence (*Columnar*, no. 70) dates this around 400 on "careless ornament and squat figure style." Gerke (*Röm. Quart.*, 1934, 1/2, 11) sets it around 350 because the drapery folds are rendered as grooves, as in the primitive frieze tradition. Decision between these attributions may be helped by two further indices. In the Adoration, Mary sits on a rock, a detail which elsewhere appears in the Milan and Ancona city-gate sarcophagi (Fig. 29), and the Lateran palm-and-city-gate lids (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, 188/2, 14/3, 151/1—so generally in the last third of the century. Common Roman practice uses a throne. The capitals belong to a well-defined subtype in which the volute is replaced by a rosette. Their fairly high proportions are closer to the original

columnar norm (cf. Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 1; Wilpert, pl. 145; Fig. 58) than to the squatness of the Ancona city-gate rear face in the 90's (Fig. 61; Wilpert, pl. 14/4) or the basket shape of Martos (Fig. 62; Lawrence, no. 45; Wilpert, pl. 116/2). I should set the Arles sarcophagus in the 70's, inclining toward an early date because of links with the double-frieze series. Gerke's grooved draperies are not so much a sign of primitive style as a carelessness into which the Latin tradition was at all times ready to slip.

68. This statement seems to me refuted by even a cursory comparison of the Syracuse sculpture with, for example, one of the S. Ambrogio ends. The former actually represents the Latin tradition of Rome at its best before the stylistic revival which produced

Unless one or the other chronology is basically wrong, the elements in question appear in the frieze series at least a generation before the earliest city-gate sarcophagus at Milan. Accepting this relationship in date, it is far more likely that both currents were affected by a common source; it is possible, even, that the direction of influence was from Rome into the North. There is nothing in the work of the city-gate atelier itself to make convincing a denial of that possibility. From the start its sculpture is fundamentally eclectic. Its backbone is an Eastern sense of decorative style, and an Eastern composition of Christ among the Twelve; these remain throughout the development. In other respects, however, a series of compromises with a Latin tradition derived ultimately from Rome is unmistakable.⁶⁹ Lawrence's theory comes to a focus on the lid of the Milan sarcophagus, which contains two scenes familiar in the double-register series, the Adoration and the Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar (Fig. 29). The latter, according to Lawrence, is a "columnar" subject, and its presence on the Syracuse sarcophagus predicates an Eastern influence already suggested by the style.⁷⁰ Now whatever else may be "Asiatic" on the Milan monument, the form of its lid, at least, is not; the attic panel which places a scene at either side of a central motif held by *putti* is a Latin formula frequent in Rome (cf. Fig. 1),⁷¹ and its presence in Milan is another indication of the city-gate atelier's eclecticism. As for the "columnar" scene of the Hebrews, Wilpert has published since Lawrence's article a flood of fragments illustrating this episode, which renders her statistic and its resultant adjective no longer convincing. By the strictest interpretation of these fragments, there are sixteen extant examples (and with a reasonable tolerance in accepting Wilpert's restorations, twenty-one) in which the scene appears upon a sarcophagus lid other than that of Milan. Twelve (or sixteen) of these are in Rome, and four (or five) in Gaul.⁷² It is twice in the Roman catacombs.⁷³ The story is thus a

the sarcophagi of the Two Brothers and Bassus. Every Latin characteristic cited elsewhere by Lawrence is in it: the squat doll-like figures with childish faces, the typical Latin drapery with folds rendered by wide short grooves, the hair in wide schematized curls, the drill holes at corners of mouth and eyes (Wilpert, pl. 93, Magi) and the inevitable Latin formulae of pose and grouping. Moses is beardless, but Abraham still wears the exomis of the primitive frieze convention. The pallium exhibits the two characteristic Latin arrangements. The affinities of this style are with a single-frieze sarcophagus like that dated before 348, in Rome (Wilpert, 128/1). With the mature grace and dignity of the city-gate work, the plastic folds and the characteristic Eastern pallium arrangement, it has no point of contact.

69. Only the first sarcophagus, at Milan, preserves the purely Eastern feature of a four-sided decoration in which the back has an importance equal to the front. The rear of the later examples at Paris and Ancona (Fig. 61) shows the Latin current still strong enough to destroy this alien unity; there the scheme of figure panels set between strigils is a variation only in detail from long-established Roman practice (Wilpert, pls. 82/4, 14/4; cf. pl. 81). At Tolentino, the Latin strigil-and-figure-panel façade has usurped even the front; the atelier's original city-gate composition has disappeared entirely. At Ancona, the central panel of the back shows the traditional Roman mar-

ried pair standing with joined hands, the husband wearing a toga. The columnar bay which encloses them is "Asiatic," certainly; in a curious detail to which I shall return later, however, the use on the capital of a rosette instead of the usual volute, it shows a relationship not to the pure columnar tradition but rather to the imitative work of Latin ateliers stemming from the frieze tradition.

In the city-gate example at Milan, first and closest to the Eastern origin, there is actually evident a strong admixture of Roman formulae. The right end is admirably planned; the left is a clumsy hodgepodge which includes such clearly Roman subjects as Noah in his tub-shaped ark and Adam and Eve beside the tree. The latter, squeezed unhappily at small scale under the bellies of Elijah's quadriga, suggest nothing so much as the miniature figures under the clipeus of the normal double-register type.

70. Lawrence, *City-gate*, p. 22, note 55.

71. The normal motif at the center of the Roman lid is a rectangular panel held by *putti* (Wilpert, pls. 197/4, 224/8). The central medallion represents undoubtedly a corruption of this design by the example of the double-register series.

72. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 129/2, 176, 177/5, 199-202.

73. Wilpert, *Pitt. Cat.*, pl. 123/1; Garrucci, *Storia*, II, pl. 35.



FIG. 30—*Clermont: Front of Sarcophagus (lost)*

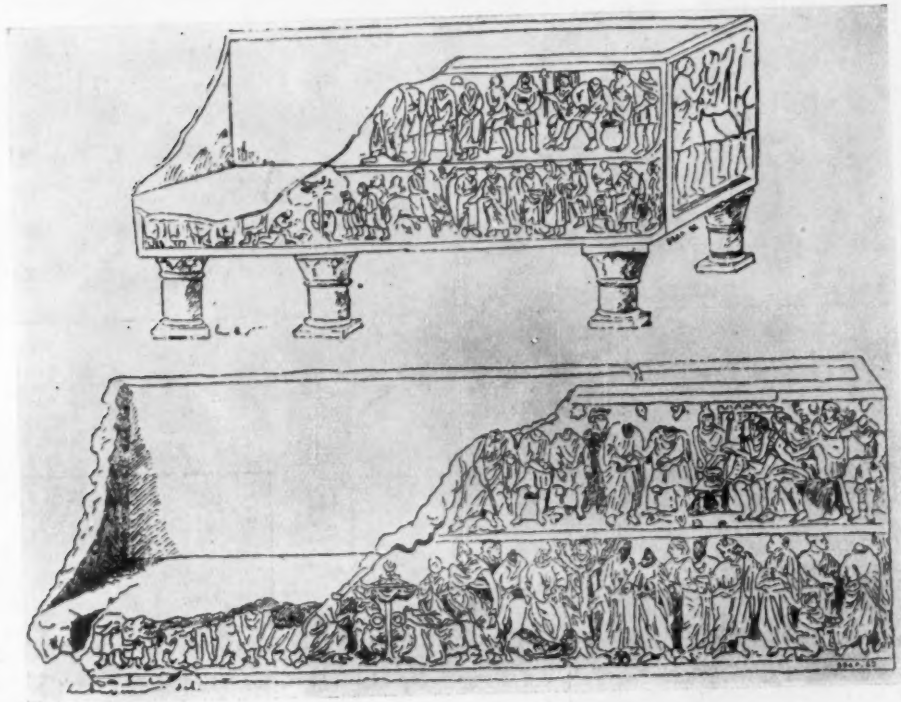


FIG. 31—*Poitiers: Front of Sarcophagus (lost)*



FIG. 32—*Rome, Lateran: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 33—*Clermont: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 34—*Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 35—*Leningrad, Basilewsky Collection, from Cahors: Detail of Sarcophagus Front*



FIG. 36—*Venice, Archaeological Museum: Detail of Sarcophagus Front*

favorite decoration of the Roman sarcophagus lid, and its use on the Milan attic is as much a derivation from Latin practice as the Adam and Eve and Noah on the side. It enters the city-gate atelier in the service most frequent in Rome—as a lid motif—and only in later examples is given the full importance of an end panel.

I see no reason to doubt that the theme of the Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar was developed sculpturally in Rome, and entered the double-register series after a period of experimentation in the wide panels of the sarcophagus lid. Its character as illustration is clearly of the same early, symbolic type as the more usual scene in the Furnace, Daniel in the Lions' Den, etc.

The Adoration of the Magi, the pendant scene on the Milan city-gate attic, is also a favorite of Roman lids (Fig. 1). It had in these, I believe, a sculptural development like that of the Nebuchadnezzar story, and entered the double-register group in the same way. Among its several appearances in the catacombs, one version, dating perhaps in the third century, sets it as a parallel to the scene of the Hebrews and the Image,⁷⁴ foreshadowing the composition at Milan.

Since Lawrence's theory of the city-gate tradition as a source is so little substantiated here, it is permissible to doubt no less its primary importance in using the iconographic details of the beardless Moses and the pallium-clad Abraham. In the first case, the primitive frieze convention which shows Moses as bearded is unique, and apparently confined to that body of sculptures. For this scene the single possible catacomb example known to me is too obscure to allow the presence or absence of a beard to be determined.⁷⁵ In the related episode of Moses loosing his sandal, those frescoes in which the head is preserved show a face clearly clean-shaven. These are fourth century works, and all but one of the latter half century.⁷⁶ The historical scenes of the Pentateuch show Moses always as beardless. I think it most likely that it was a growing familiarity with Old Testament illustration as disseminated in manuscripts of the Septuagint which led Roman sculptors of the mid-century to correct their local practice into conformity with the orthodox detail.

The same revision by a newly recognized standard is probably responsible for the more dignified dress given Abraham. In the primitive Christian art of Rome, the Sacrifice possessed an independent existence as a typological symbol, and Abraham, fixed by no iconographic type, might wear the pallium, the paenula, or the tunic with clavi, girdled or hanging loose.⁷⁷ Abraham as part of a historical cycle, on the other hand, always wears the pallium of the patriarch.⁷⁸

Among the scenes added to the double-register series to piece out the conventional single-frieze repertory, several are familiar by their use in Rome both in the catacombs and in earlier sarcophagus sculpture: the Jonah story, the Three Hebrews in the Furnace, Noah in his Ark. The figure of Moses Removing his Sandal seems a development of the fourth century, but within that period is indicated predominantly

74. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. 35.

75. Wilpert, *Pitt. Cat.*, pl. 165.

76. *Ibid.*, pls. 168, 214-5, 237; Garrucci, *Storia*, II, pls. 29-31, 67/2.

77. E. g., pallium: Wilpert, *Pitt. Cat.*, pls. 73,

78/3; paenula: Garrucci, *Storia*, II, pl. 69/3; tunic with clavi, girdled; *ibid.*, VI, pl. 475/2; tunic with clavi, ungirdled; Wilpert, *Pitt. Cat.*, pl. 41.

78. As in the Vienna Genesis, or the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore.

as a Roman subject by its appearance in some five catacomb frescoes, one attributed to the first half of the century.⁷⁹

A number of scenes, absent from the catacombs, find their earliest illustration on sarcophagi. The figure of the seated Peter Teaching (Figs. 5, 11, 15) is found in the majority of such cases at Rome. Of the five preserved examples of the Creation of Man, two fragments show variant types, probably early; the rest group themselves about their most successful version, on the Lateran sarcophagus of the "Trinity" (Fig. 6).⁸⁰ A similarly composed scene, the Presentation of Gifts by Cain and Abel, is again predominantly Roman.

The Entry into Jerusalem is more frequent on Roman sarcophagi than anywhere else. A group of figures extending in width like the Adoration and the Three Hebrews, it occurs as they do on numerous lids, and probably was developed as a sculptural subject in that field.⁸¹

The lid may have been a first step, finally, in the use on stone of the Red Sea Passage. Omitting from consideration the great series of "Asiatic" Red Sea sarcophagi which Lawrence places at the end of the fourth century, the subject is illustrated outside of the double-register group on three lid panels only, two in Rome, and one in Avignon (Fig. 10), which combines the scene with the Miracle of the Quail, an abbreviation of what seems to be the composition at Carcassonne, on the right lower end.⁸² Here, as in the double register series, the fall of the draperies and the technique of rendering their folds is distinctly Latin, and in obvious contrast to the Eastern character of Lawrence's group. The appearance of the scene in both Italy and Gaul at approximately the same time argues, I think, not the influence of one center upon another, but rather the use by both of newly available manuscripts of the Pentateuch. The same source is responsible for the closely allied scene of the Miracle of the Quail. This is seen in only three or four sarcophagi: outside of the double-register examples in Pisa and perhaps Carcassonne, on the lid at Avignon mentioned above, and on the end of the Red Sea trough at Aix (Figs. 9, 10, 12).⁸³ (This

79. Wilpert, *Pitt. Cat.*, pl. 168.

80. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 96, 106/2, 137/6, 185/1, 191/8.

81. E. g., *ibid.*, pls. 225/1, 235/2, 5, 6.

82. *Ibid.*, pls. 209/1, 2, 216/2.

83. The earliest extant Pentateuch cycle, the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, sets the Miracle of the Quail in the panel immediately after the Crossing of the Red Sea (Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken u. Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom iv. bis xiii. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916, pls. 18, 19). The Aix Red Sea sarcophagus, most elaborate of that series, allows the Quail half of an end panel (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 97). The double-frieze examples at Pisa and Carcassonne and the Avignon lid run the two scenes together in an increasing abbreviation.

Resemblances run through a whole group of Red Sea illustrations: the Latin sarcophagi, the Red Sea series, Roman mosaic in the Early Christian period, the Paris Psalter, the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen, and the Octateuchs later: which suggest a common basis in some early manuscript tradition. Moses al-

ways looks back to strike the sea with his wand; there is a child clutching its parent's hand; the Israelite men wear the paenula. The Latin sarcophagus lids contain the Pillar of Fire, which is usual in the Red Sea series and in the later Mss.; Carcassonne apparently has their feature of the man carrying his goods in a bundle about his neck. On the other hand, the Latin sarcophagi and the mosaic lack two features of the "Asiatic" series and of the manuscripts: Miriam with her tambourine at the head of the host, and personifications of locality. The first of these, in which Miriam heads the actual Crossing, is probably a condensation of two separate scenes like that which unites the Crossing and the Quail. The Octateuchs, in their conscientious transcription of a much earlier Exodus cycle, show first the Red Sea Passage and then Miriam dancing in a separate panel. The same prototype may be inferred for the elaborate Crossing of the Paris Psalter, in which Miriam does not appear; the Byzantine copyist was faithful to the details of the single scene which was his model, and omitted the Dancing because it occurred not in that panel but in a subsequent one. In the Homilies of

numerical distribution might be used to argue that the Pisa sarcophagus is actually an exportation from Gaul, rather than from Rome. In other respects, however, its relationship to the fairly homogeneous Gallic series is not marked, so that it may stand as a Roman work without any strain of probability.)

There remains for explanation within the Roman series the technical change in rendering rock surfaces from "concave" to "convex." The primitive effect of pot-hole erosion had its logical source in the Jonah illustration; from this, as its most extensive use in the early frieze period, it extended to such minor rocks as that of the Miracle of the Spring, or Moses' "Mt. Sinai." The change came in a decade which was abandoning the Jonah scene, and at the same time, as I have indicated above, was drawing fresh inspiration from manuscript illustrations of the Old Testament. The first clear appearance of the convex rock in the Roman series is on the Syracuse example (Fig. 7), with the new beardless Moses. The sculptor who corrected his Moses type by the orthodox cycle, attempted to revise as well his indication of the mountain. For the form which Sinai must have taken in manuscript illustration of the fourth century or earlier, we have no better evidence than the Vienna Genesis, probably of the fifth (Fig. 27). The convex rock of the sarcophagus is a stylized version of the still highly plastic masses in the manuscript. These, of course, reproduce in degenerate form the conventions of landscape visible long before in Pompeii.⁸⁴

The subjects and the details of iconography considered above constitute what I shall call the normal development of the purely Roman double-register series. The new themes are drawn from sources either traditionally connected with Rome, or directly available to the Roman ateliers without the intervention of any intermediate sarcophagus tradition in any other region of the empire. Seven of the eight Roman double-register sarcophagi are fully explained by this process of normal growth. The exception is the last of the series, the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers. In this sculpture there are elements which cannot be convincingly derived from within the Roman potentiality and which at the climax of the group seem to mark a sudden change rather than the end of an orderly development. The first of these new factors is a quality of style for which there is no preparation in the gently varying mediocrity of the earlier Roman works. The others are elements of iconography, in the scenes of Lazarus and Pilate, and perhaps in that of Peter Teaching. These can be explained, I believe, only as an invasion of the Roman tradition by an outside force, and that a rival in the same field: the sarcophagus ateliers of Provence.

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There can be no doubt that the early germination of Christian sculpture in Provence was deeply colored by Roman tradition, and was executed, indeed, in ateliers which must have begun simply as off-shoots from the capital city. Such a lost frieze

Gregory, on the other hand, condensation and abbreviation are habitual; the two Exodus scenes are combined, and Miriam heads the host in passage. H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens mss. grecs de*

la Bibliothèque Nationale du vie au xiv^e siècle, Paris, 1929, pls. 9, 42).

84. E. g., P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, Munich, 1904-31, I, pl. 68.

sarcophagus as that at Clermont, preserved in a drawing (Fig. 30),⁸⁵ is hardly to be distinguished from the purely Roman product. Even in the scene of Lazarus, whose iconography I have discussed above and whose importance will be further emphasized below, the version is that of Rome.

At the stage of sculptural development which is most clearly illustrated in the double-register series, however, toward the middle of the fourth century, the former identity of subject and method no longer exists. As I have shown,⁸⁶ the development of subject matter within the group proceeds much farther in Gaul than in Rome. The Roman sarcophagi treat their newly formulated scenes simply as additions to the old, to be used only where space permits.⁸⁷ In the Gallic series, on the other hand, the grip of the original cycle is much weaker and the expansive energy of the new far more pronounced. The earlier Arles example preserves eight narrow scenes; the later Arles and perhaps Carcassonne only four. At the same time the Gallic sarcophagi are linked in a continuity of design and figure style quite unknown in the Roman. Thus, the Northern development is not, as Wilpert endlessly insists, a more or less clumsy copying of models furnished by a Vatican atelier; it is actually a fresher current than the Roman from which it starts, and by the middle of the fourth century has achieved a high degree of independence.

The clearest connection of the Gallic group to the problem of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus lies in a common treatment of the Pilate episode.

Some two dozen sarcophagi illustrate the scene of Pilate washing his hands. With one exception,⁸⁸ their handling agrees in a basic composition of the group about Pilate (Figs. 12, 14, 15, 16, 31, 32, 47). Its minimum of elements are the seated procurator himself, the servant with pitcher and basin, and between on some form of stand a container which Wilpert calls a water clock.⁸⁹ Beyond this basic conformity the sarcophagi split. The one homogeneous subdivision is that which includes the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers and the double-frieze examples of Gaul; their unmistakable iconographic link is the position of Pilate, facing Christ as he sits, but turning away and resting his chin on his hand with an indication of mood remarkable in late antique sculpture (Figs. 12, 14, 15, 31). Outside of our series, this clearly defined type is seen in six other examples. One of these is a fragment in the Wilpert collection which seems, in simpler terms, an imitation of the Two Brothers' version and of the same general period; the rest are by their form later than any member of the double-register group, and in the progressive decadence of their handling of the scene show its second-hand character (Figs. 16, 32).⁹⁰ At the head in date of the

85. Le Blant, *Gaule*, p. 81.

86. See above pp. 159 f.

87. On the Syracuse example, this method with a very wide trough permits the addition of three extended scenes to the conventional nucleus of ten. On the one at Pisa, which devotes its entire upper register to the two wide episodes of the Red Sea Crossing and the Quail, the lower is crowded as densely as any single frieze to include nine narrow ones. On the Two Brothers, the comparatively small field permits only two new scenes, only moderate in width, with a nucleus of nine; rather than sacrifice any of the subjects prescribed by tradition, the sculptor shows only half of his Pilate story.

88. Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 20; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 121.

89. Wilpert, *ibid.*, II, p. 317.

90. The fragment, Wilpert, *ibid.*, pl. 217/5. Two columnar versions are the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, and a later member of the same atelier, Roman successors of the double-frieze group (Lawrence, nos. 69, 26; Wilpert, pls. 13, 146/3). The presence of the tower behind Pilate in this work suggests that the Bassus atelier copied not the Two Brothers' sarcophagus itself (where the tower is lacking) but a lost example of the same type, with tower. On this lost example there may have been included the group of Christ and the soldiers, also absent from the sar-

whole iconographic type stand four double-frieze sarcophagi, one in Rome and three in Gaul. Of these the least complete is actually that of the Two Brothers, since it omits the tower behind Pilate. The only full version of the whole scene, including the group of Christ and the soldiers, are the two Gallic sarcophagi: one at Carcassonne, and the lost example at Poitiers.⁹¹ It is probable, then, that the source of the iconography in Rome may be traced back through the Two Brothers' sarcophagus to an origin in Gaul. This conclusion is the more convincing since it parallels that already reached by Lawrence for the strictly "Asiatic" columnar series, and its appearances in Rome.⁹² The fact that the group is more skilfully handled as sculpture

cophagus of the Two Brothers. On the other hand, with a prototype like the Two Brothers' sarcophagus, the copyists might have taken the missing Christ from an "Asiatic" columnar version like the Lateran sarcophagus, Lawrence no. 22 (Wilpert, pl. 121/1).

Another successor to the double-frieze iconography seems, in extremely fragmentary condition, a work also of the Bassus atelier, and like the later of the two cited above (Wilpert, pl. 137/4). A fifth is a member of the palm-and-city-gate atelier, placed by Lawrence well within the last quarter of the century (Lawrence, no. 111; Wilpert, pl. 151). A sixth is a Gallic sarcophagus which she sets at the end of the century (Lawrence, no. 17; Wilpert, pl. 33/3).

Wilpert illustrates an extremely battered double-register fragment in Rome which he says shows the Judgment of Christ before Pilate (*Sarcophagi*, II, fig. p. 16). I cannot rely on this as evidence, since the end which might have shown the Pilate group is lost, and the figures remaining, if they present an Arrest at all, might as well represent that of Peter.

91. The evidence here is of course imperfect. However, the Poitiers example can in all essentials be reconstructed safely by a comparison of the two drawings which record its original form. At Carcassonne, in spite of its ruin, every element of the full scene can be recognized except the tower. The rock and the feet to the left of it record Pilate; the assessor is visible from the knees down. Next is the tripod, and a standing figure who holds what is still recognizable as a pitcher. The man beyond wears a short tunic, and drapery folds cross his breast on the diagonal that indicates the chlamys of the soldier. The next figure, facing toward Pilate, can be explained only as the Christ.

92. Of the ten examples of the Pilate scene (outside of the double register Bassus group) which are sufficiently well preserved to allow attribution, eight are members of Lawrence's Atelier I, the earliest of the Gallic workshops, in a series beginning around 350. Both main groups are thus centered in the North, and extend their influence to Rome probably in the same decade at the mid-century. The two versions have clearly a common base. Lawrence has even suggested that the Two Brothers type was copied from a columnar example (*City-gate*, p. 27, note 55). I think this impossible. The sculptor who amputated the scene to show only the Pilate group may have based his division on the bays of a columnar example. The Pilate group itself is too rich to be included within any columnar bay, as the attempt of the Bassus' sculptor to so arrange it shows. The scene

as it appears at Poitiers and Carcassonne is more complete than any columnar example could be. Unless we suppose that the frieze version was elaborated from such a comparatively primitive handling as even the richest columnar sarcophagus can show—which would be a process wholly unparalleled in late antique art—we must conclude that it reproduces a common prototype, probably pictorial, and that its frieze form allows a complication of detail in that copying which is quite impossible in the narrow columnar bays.

As further evidence of the Gallic origin of the Pilate illustration, it may be argued that in the development of the whole cycle of Christ's Passion, the lead is taken in almost every instance not by Rome but by monuments of a North Mediterranean belt which includes Upper Italy, Provence, and Spain. The demonstration is complicated by its use of certain works whose provenance is not definitely fixed. These have, however, nothing essential which connects them to Rome, and much to establish a strong community of tradition with monuments which are unmistakably Northern. By the same token, the subjects which they handle afford no positive arguments for a source in the Roman environment and are linked by many circumstances to the North.

The nucleus of this group consists of sarcophagi of Gaul and Upper Italy; the Gospel mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, and the ciborium column of S. Marco, Venice. It may be extended to include a whole group of ivories of the fifth century, on the basis of E. B. Smith's studies of the "School of Provence" (*Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, Princeton, 1918; *A source of Mediaeval Style in France in Art Studies*, 1924).

The fifth century wood doors of S. Sabina in Rome belong in the series by a number of iconographic links; their provenance in Upper Italy has been claimed most recently by Weigand on the basis of their use of the Constantinian monogram in the nimbus of Christ, a detail elsewhere seen only in the North (*Byzantinische Zeit.*, xxx, p. 587). The final monument is the ivory Lipsanoteca of Brescia; here connections with Rome are only of the most general type, and many specific details link the casket to the rest of the North Mediterranean series. Spain has been included, although its Early Christian art is almost non-existent, largely because of the Dittochaeum of Prudentius, which seems a description of the earliest elaborate illustrated concordance of Old and New Testaments. An iconographic detail linking

in the Two Brothers' sepulcher than anywhere else is of no moment; I shall attempt to explain later that very superiority of execution as a factor which itself is present in Rome only by import from Gaul.

A second debt is shown, I believe, by the handling of the Lazarus group. I have noted already a basic distinction between the two sarcophagus versions of this scene, one general in the frieze type (Fig. 21) and the other imitating in its architectural detail the "Asiatic" columnar style (Fig. 22). The source of the latter group should be bound up with that of the Christian columnar sarcophagi themselves; acceptance of Lawrence's hypothesis brings the motif home to Gaul, where indeed it is most beautifully illustrated on a frieze at Arles (Fig. 34).⁹³ A focus in the North may even be argued without reference to the "Asiatic" series, simply on the evidence within the developed Lazarus group itself.⁹⁴ Outside of the use of an "Eastern" ornament, the prime difference between the primitive frieze iconography of the scene and the developed is in the position of the sister Mary. In the former, as noted, she crouches at Christ's feet, hiding a portion of the tomb's base or its stair (Fig. 21). In contrast, the developed iconography of Gaul is invariable in leaving the podium unobstructed. This is also the ultimate type in Rome; it appears thus in the version of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus (Fig. 15), on two fragmentary frieze sarcophagi of the same quality of style (Figs. 40, 41),⁹⁵ and finally on a lost example of the panel-and-strigil type which in other details indicates a date in the last quarter of the century.⁹⁶ The other six examples at Rome in which the treatment is verifiable, all show the primitive frieze version, with the sister in front of the tomb (Figs. 21, 22).⁹⁷ They are clearly transitional monuments, accepting from the new iconography its architecture only, and clinging to their own figure arrangement. They vary also in handling the architecture itself. The Gallic type is clearly shown by the three sarcophagi which preserve their details:⁹⁸ an elaborate ornamenting of all available moldings, acroteria carved as masks, and in the case of Arles and Cahors, a plinth

Spain to Smith's "Provençal" ivories has recently been proved by McDonald (*Speculum*, VIII, 1933, pp. 150 ff.).

Episodes of the Passion which appear exclusively within this group in the Early Christian art of the West, and which are unknown among Roman monuments are: Christ in Gethsemane; the Betrayal; the Arrest; Judas Hanged; perhaps Christ before Caiaphas (the Roman evidence here is shaky) the Denial by Peter to the Maid; Christ Bearing His Cross; the Crucifixion; the Holy Women at the Sepulcher; the Ascension; the Doubting Thomas; and other scenes of the Risen Christ. The only Passion cycle which is definitely Roman occurs on a Lateran sarcophagus, Lawrence, no. 26 (Wilpert, pl. 146/3) of the Bassus atelier. Here appear Christ before Pilate, the Symbolic Crucifixion rather than the actual, the Crown of Thorns, and Simon Bearing the Cross. Its unique position is an index of the sterility of Roman ground to such new ideas rather than of any creative power, the more so since it is a product of the most omnivorously eclectic of all Roman ateliers (Lawrence, *Columnar*, p. 139).

The weight of evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of a Northern focus for the development of the whole

Passion cycle. Gallic influence on Rome in the Pilate scene is thus merely a symptom of the general situation.

In a subsequent article I shall treat this whole problem at length, amplifying the evidence upon which its solution may be based.

93. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 152/5.

94. I know of sixteen sarcophagi or fragments in which the details of the tomb seem to imitate the conventional ornament of the columnar tradition. Of these, five are in Gaul, one in Verona, and ten in Rome. It is, of course, apparently illogical to deny the argument of frequency here after having used it in the Pilate scene. In that case, however, all four monuments were very closely related. In this, the numerical inferiority of Gaul is compensated by a strong iconographic unity, and the superiority of Rome by a corresponding lack of cohesion.

95. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 126/1, 207.

96. Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pl. 364/1. See above, p. 164.

97. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 115/2, 126/2, 127/2, 212, 218/1, 234/6.

98. *Ibid.*, pls. 99, 115/1, 152/5.



FIG. 37—*Clermont:*
Detail of Sarcophagus
Front



FIG. 38—*Rome, Cimitero*
di Pretestato: Detail of
Sarcophagus Front



FIG. 39—*Rome, Lateran:*
Detail of Front of Two
Brothers' Sarcophagus



FIG. 40—*Rome, Cimitero di Pretestato: Front of Sarcophagus*

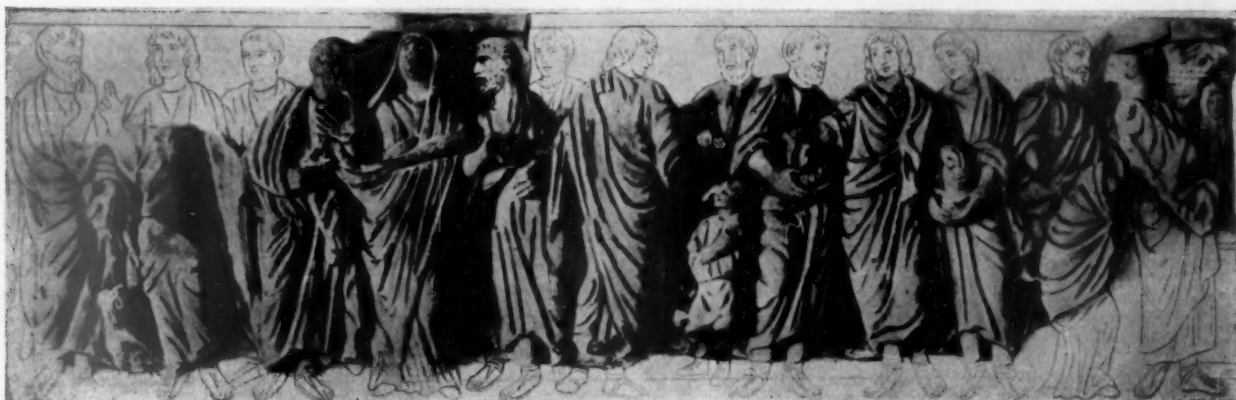


FIG. 41—*Rome, Museo di S. Callisto: Detail of Sarcophagus Front*



FIG. 42—*Perugia, University Chapel: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 43—*Paris, Louvre: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 44—*Rome, S. Sebastiano: Front of Sarcophagus*

panel with a figure subject (Figs. 33-35). The one at Arles, where the whole version is completest, takes the form of a small Daniel and the Babylonian Dragon; at Cahors it is a shepherd leaning on his crook under a tree.

Of the Roman examples, some use mask acroteria and others a palmette. The shepherd plinth appears three times (Fig. 22), but in four other cases the panel has simply a vine motif (Fig. 40). The Two Brothers' sarcophagus upon which I have balanced the whole problem of Rome vs. Gaul, is far less sure in its handling of architecture than in its figures. The acroteria here are absent; the ornament, though at a scale large enough for accuracy of detail, is crude and perfunctory (Fig. 56); the panel shows only a tree, without the shepherd. Here again is suggested a struggle of tradition with invading influences, in which the latter are wholly successful only at the very end of the development.

The argument may be strengthened by a further detail. The curious relationship between Christ, the tomb, and the woman to whom He turns, which is characteristic of the mature iconography, can be explained only by a Gallic sarcophagus, that at Clermont-Ferrand (Fig. 33).⁹⁹ Here the typical grouping is shown to be a condensation into one relationship of what are actually two miracles. In the Raising itself, the figure of Christ is seen from the back, and a veiled sister stands erect behind Him. In the adjacent scene Christ gestures in compassion above the head of a female figure crouching at His feet and clutching the hem of His robe, the Woman with an Issue of Blood. The typical figure group (for example, of the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers) uses this latter pair in conjunction with the tomb of Lazarus; it is thus a derivative form whose earlier phase is seen only in Gaul. The Clermont-Ferrand sarcophagus may indeed be early in date as well as in iconographic type. Its aedicula is closer to the primitive form in lacking a plinth panel; again, the hair of the orant seems with its long side lappets a version of the posthumous Helena coiffure of 330.¹⁰⁰

The Clermont rear view of Christ was probably abandoned because of its conflict with the dogmatic necessity of showing the Saviour always in His most dignified aspect. The curious figure arrangement thereafter in fashion seems at first sight a purely economical abbreviation. It may, on the other hand, represent an ingenious sculptor's compromise between dogma and narrative realism, justifying the frontal pose of Christ by the introduction of a second object to draw His attention away from Lazarus. The original idea of juxtaposing the figures of Christ, the Woman with an Issue, Lazarus, and a sister, and then of combining all these in a single scene, seems to reflect a unique local tradition preserved in a sermon formerly ascribed to St. Ambrose.¹⁰¹ This, in a list of the wonders performed by Christ, contains the words:

"—dum claudis pedum restituit firmitatem, dum caecis lumina amissa reddit, aut

99. *Ibid.*, pl. 99, Wilpert, on insufficient evidence, assumes that a fragmentary Roman frieze, pl. 234/2, may be reconstructed as a twin of the Clermont sarcophagus. The Roman stone is so ruined as to give no indication of what the crucial figure group on the left may actually have been.

100. See above, p. 167.

101. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XVII, col. 716; *Sermo XLVI, De Salomone*. The editor's note here indicates that doubt was cast on the authorship of this

tract as early as Erasmus; for the Middle Ages, however, it was an authentic work of Ambrose, and is so referred to by Bonaventura in his Commentary on Luke viii, with the phrase: "Haec autem mulier secundum Ambrosium videtur fuisse Martha. Ait enim, 'Christus largum fluxum sanguinis siccavit in Martha et daemones expulit de Maria'" (Franciscan edition, 1882-1902, VII, 210).

The same remark is made by the Pseudo-Bonaventura. His English translation, *The Mirrour of the*

imponit condita, dum eloquium praestat mutis, et surdis insinuat auditum, dum largum sanguinis fluxum siccatur in Martha, dum daemones pellit ex Maria, dum corpus redivivi spiritus calore constringit in Lazaro...."

The sentence is extraordinary not only in identifying Martha as the Woman with an Issue, but in signalling out Lazarus and his two sisters for especial mention among the otherwise anonymous throng healed by Christ.¹⁰² It can hardly be doubted that such a tradition lies behind the peculiar arrangement of the Clermont-Ferrand frieze; the connection is even more obvious on the elaborate Arles sarcophagus which is its direct descendant (Fig. 34)¹⁰³ and which in a double miracle shows Christ with all three, Lazarus, Martha, and Mary.

The other Gallic sarcophagi show respectively an iconographic type more primitive even than that of Clermont-Ferrand, and a link between Clermont and Arles and a Lazarus scene like that of the Two Brothers. The first is a frieze at Tarascon.¹⁰⁴ Christ is shown from the rear, facing the tomb; the aedicula is unornamented, however, and the sister is set in front of its steps. Except for the pose of Christ the form is wholly that of the Roman tradition.¹⁰⁵

Out of the four persons grouped together on the versions of Clermont-Ferrand and Arles, the least important in the sculptural narrative is Mary. On the Arles frieze she is no more than a background head; on the sarcophagus from Cahors in the Basilevsky Collection (Fig. 35),¹⁰⁶ which otherwise parallels Arles so closely as to seem almost a direct copy, she has disappeared entirely. The omission, which is

Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, has it: "The gospelle nempneth not the womman that was heled by the touchynge of the hem of Jesu clothinge / bot seynt Ambrose and othere doctoures seien that sche was Martha / the sistre of Marie mawdeleyne" (ed. Powell, 1908, 117. I owe this reference to the kindness of Mrs. Hollis, of the Princeton Index of Christian Art).

I have found this rare tradition mentioned by no other early Christian writer. It contrasts with the more usual story repeated by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VII, 18, that the woman whom Christ healed of an issue of blood was an inhabitant of Caesarea and set up in that city a bronze sculptural group to commemorate the miracle.

Any actual connection of the sermon *De Salomone* with Ambrose is the more unlikely since his authentic *Commentary on Luke* speaks of the Woman with an Issue without naming Martha. The Early Christian date of the work is undoubted, however, and the problem of its provenance may well be argued by reference to the Gallic sarcophagi.

A further instance of the dependence of Provençal sculpture upon a rare North Mediterranean textual source is apparently furnished by a late and "Asiatic" two-register panel-and-strigil sarcophagus at Arles (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 148/2). Here one of the panels combines the unusual scene of Christ speaking to the publican Zaccheus in the tree, with the figure of a woman kneeling behind Him. This is the same unique combination which is effected by a verse of the supposed Ambrosian tituli:

"Zachaeus in ramo est rapti iam prodigus auri,
Feminaque immundum miratur stare cruorem."

Merkle, in *Die Ambrosianischen Tituli*, in *Röm. Quart.*, X (1896), p. 219, defending the authenticity of this text, shows that elsewhere in the writings of Ambrose both the Woman with an Issue and Zaccheus are signalled out as types of the Gentiles converted by the Saviour.

102. It is a temptation to see in this text with its illustration in fourth century Provençal sculpture an obscure prefiguration of the mediaeval cult of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary Magdalen in Provence. All other evidence of their worship seems to go back no further than the eleventh century and various attempts to claim a greater antiquity for the cult have been extensively refuted by Duchesne, *Les fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, Paris, 1907, I, pp. 325 ff., by Leclercq (cf. Cabrol's *Dictionnaire*, s. v. "Lazare" and "Maximin"), etc. Interest in the three here evident in the fourth century, however, may furnish a small kernel of fact for the later legend.

103. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 152/5.

104. *Ibid.*, pl. 113/2.

105. I shall discuss the rear pose below (cf. pp. 187, 194) as an index of a stylistic renaissance at the mid-century, one of whose aims was a return to a more realistic presentation of figures in space. The corrupt figure style of Tarascon precludes the possibility of its having been in the front line of any such development; it seems rather a copy of an abler sarcophagus like Clermont, made by a sculptor still working almost entirely by the methods of the primitive type, who could reproduce only such obvious tricks as the rear view.

106. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 115/1; Le Blant, *Gaule*, p. 71, pl. 20/1.

thereafter the standard,¹⁰⁷ doubtless was a result of the copyist's imperfect understanding of the meaning of the group, and his training in a tradition which permitted the elaboration or omission of background figures with little thought except for the space available. The Cahors version, with the original quartet reduced to a trio, is in its essentials what I have called the "developed" Lazarus iconography. The Roman series stemming from its type, however, adds one feature which may be significant. On the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers, a fragment in Pretestato,¹⁰⁸ and the lost panel-and-strigil sarcophagus which I have set at the end of the development (Figs. 15, 40),¹⁰⁹ the woman crouching behind Christ kisses His hand as if in gratitude. That this rare detail refers not to the Lazarus story but to another miracle is proved by two Roman sarcophagi in which it appears with the principal actors reduced to Christ and the woman (Fig. 43);¹¹⁰ Wilpert insists that this scene indicates not the Woman with an Issue, but the Canaanite or Syro-Phoenician of Matthew xv; 22-8 and Mark vii; 25-30.¹¹¹ If this is so, it may indicate that the transfer of the developed Lazarus group of Gaul to Rome did not include a full theological explanation of its meaning; the Roman ateliers, unfamiliar with the peculiar Northern tradition identifying Martha with the Woman with an Issue, mistook the figure known to them simply as a crouching female, for the subject of a more popular miracle. On the other hand, a sarcophagus in Verona, also stemming from the type of Cahors and within the possible geographic limits of the Martha tradition, shows the kneeling figure in the act of clutching the hem of Christ's garment, a detail unmistakably illustrative of the Woman with an Issue.¹¹²

I have indicated two elements of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus which suggest the introduction of Gallic ideas into Rome at the mid-century.¹¹³ A factor common to

107. The Carcassonne version is too ruined to show whether Mary was originally included or not.

108. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 207/1.

109. Garrucci, *Storia*, V, 364/1. See above, p. 180.

110. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, I, 159, fig. 92, pl. 116/1.

111. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 159-160; II, pp. 296-9. The number of sculptures which may refer either to one or the other of these two miracles involving a crouching or kneeling woman, merge so confusingly in detail that I should suppose the stone-cutters themselves often uncertain as to whom they were representing. Wilpert denies that the Woman with an Issue could ever be represented except in the act of clutching the hem of Christ's robe. This brings him into conflict with the famous sculptural group of Paneas, seen by Eusebius, in which a female kneeling before Christ stretched out her hands in supplication; by a tradition already old in the fourth century, the bronze had been erected in gratitude by the woman healed of an issue of blood, and commemorated the miracle of her healing (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VII, 18). Wilpert does not hesitate to assert that both Eusebius and the tradition he quotes were mistaken, and that the group could have referred only to the Syro-Phoenician woman. If this extraordinary claim be accepted, however, it proves merely that the iconography of the two miracles was confused in the fourth century, and that we need not expect any more precise delimitation between them from the sarcophagus sculptors of the West than from Eusebius and the tradition of Paneas.

112. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 151/2. Outside of the main development passing from Clermont through Arles to Cahors and then into the Roman series, two minor tributaries furnish iconographic variants. The Clermont type with the rear view of Christ must have made its way to Rome, where it appears with a most elaborate aedicula but with the local feature of Mary still kneeling before the steps (Fig. 1; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 139/2). A transitional type presents Christ still facing towards Lazarus, but turning His head to look at Martha. A fragmentary Roman example of this version. (*ibid.*, pl. 126/1) is matched by a Gallic prototype, preserved among the drawings of Peiresc, from Auch (*Bull. Arch.*, 1889, pp. 33-4).

113. A third iconographic importation is perhaps the rock upon which the figure of the Teaching Peter sits. I hesitate to stress this point from the nature of the evidence; the four Roman fragments given by Wilpert are so broken as to show no seat (pls. 105/6, 155/4, 4, 5). Outside of the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers, the rock appears in Rome only on a fragmentary tree sarcophagus, which from its type must be later in date (*ibid.*, pl. 155/3; see below p. 202). On two other Roman examples, the seat is a chair (Fig. 5; *ibid.* pls. 155/2, 218/1). The chair appears once in Narbonne, on an otherwise primitive frieze (*ibid.*, pl. 122/2). The rock has four Gallic examples, two frieze (Fig. 11; *ibid.*, pls. 122/3, 152/1) and two columnar (*ibid.*, pl. 122/1; Le Blant, *Arles*, pl. 24/3). The earliest seems the Arles frieze, pl. 152/1, since there the rock has still a "concave" rendering.

both must be strongly emphasized: their independence of the parallel invasion made at the same period by the columnar sarcophagi. The Pilate group as seen on the Two Brothers and the double-register examples of Gaul, is related to the columnar iconography by what must be a common prototype, but remains a distinct sub-type throughout its development. The Raising of Lazarus imitates in its aedicula the columnar ornament; in all other respects it shows an entirely different tradition. The Lazarus scene is indeed almost unknown in the columnar environment.¹¹⁴

The same independence of the columnar tradition must be asserted in a third crucial element of the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers: its style.

I have said already that there is nothing in the purely Roman background of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus to explain its remarkable superiority in style and execution to the rest of the double-register series. So complete is the lack of any continuity of stylistic development in Rome, that the sarcophagi which stand closest to that of the Two Brothers in iconography are almost as far from it in quality as the earliest members of the group. The abruptness of the improvement, and the lack of any preparation for it in earlier monuments of the same class, suggest an outside influence.

Positive evidence of an importation of style is less conclusive than in iconography. It may be argued, however, that since two other determining factors of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus have been traced with a high degree of probability to Gaul, the element of style should follow the same path. There is nothing in the Gallic environment to preclude the possibility of its having been a source, for the West, of a renaissance in Latin sarcophagi of the mid-fourth century. Such a theory is favored by the general ferment in the North of new ideas of sculpture, producing the columnar and city-gate sarcophagi which Rome was merely to receive and to imitate. It is favored, even, by positive indices of style.

Certain elements in the design of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus, the free movement of the figures and their grouping in a convincing spatial relationship in high relief, are paralleled most closely by the later double-register sarcophagus at Arles (Fig. 14). The Gallic monument, as I have indicated, stands in intimate connection with its cousins at Arles and Carcassonne; through the three runs a growing freedom of

Further evidence of Gallic partiality for the rock seat is given first by the Judgment of Pilate and then by the Adoration of the Magi. For the first, the rock of Pilate on the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers is inherited from the Gallic examples at Arles, Carcassonne, and Poitiers and in the later Roman development has already changed to a chair in the Bassus version. For the Adoration Roman practice constantly places Mary on a throne or chair; the only exceptions known to me are a series of lids, almost identical in character, which from the one member still associated with its trough may be assigned to the half "Asiatic" palm-and-city-gate atelier (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 92, 151/1, 201/5, 224/3. Cf. Lawrence, *City-gate*, pp. 16 ff.). The "Adelfia" lid in Syracuse at present tops a Latin double-register trough, but is of a distinctly different size and material (cf. Führer and Schultze, *Die altchr. Grabst. Siziliens*, p. 313); Gallic or North Italian Adorations with Mary on a rock seat are on the Milan and Ancona city-gate

sarcophagi, the double-register columnar at Arles (see above p. 171), apparently on the panel and strigil example at Arles (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 198/2), and the Milan and Werden ivories of Smith's "Provençal" group (Smith, *E. C. Iconography*, figs. 155, 158).

114. I know two versions of the Lazarus scene in the columnar environment. One is a five-arch sarcophagus at Aix (Lawrence, no. 13; Wilpert, pl. 205/5) which Lawrence calls "late" and which is obviously "Asiatic." This shows so little acquaintance with the developed iconography of the mid-century that it uses actually the primitive type derived from Rome. The same is true of the pronouncedly "Asiatic" form seen on a late Roman frieze of the "mixed type" (Wilpert, pl. 114/4. Here the aedicula has an arched top which links it to the examples at Ravenna (Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pls. 332/2-4, 311) and to Smith's "Syro-Anatolian" group (*E. C. Iconography*, p. 115).

design and an increasing technical competence which places the climax of the series upon a firm basis of atelier development.¹¹⁵

The Gallic double-register series, however, accounts for only a part of the Two Brothers' style. A second element, no less essential, is a quiet dignity of manner very different from the sprightly narrative of the Arles Red Sea Crossing. With this method is bound up a dignity of form which marks in some measure at least a return to the classical ideal; by comparison even the later Arles figures look dwarfed. In placing such value on the ideal nobility of the antique rather than on its experiments in realism, the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers is echoed by a number of other sarcophagi of Gaul and Rome.

The small group of monuments in the Fine Style which includes the monuments of the Two Brothers and of Junius Bassus, is set aside from the rest of the fourth century sarcophagi by an obvious superiority in style and execution.¹¹⁶ In all else they are intimately a part of the general development, usually identical with it in iconography and subject, and for that reason are closely linked to the others in time. General characteristics, and a number of interesting peculiarities of detail, may be studied first in the frieze already mentioned, at Clermont (Fig. 33).

In this sarcophagus, unlike the normal frieze, there is a notable respect for the individual form. It is still flat, and the projection of arms from its plane is not convincing; proportions are fairly accurate, however, and the body stands firmly on its feet. The drapery is rendered not by the usual grooves, but as a system of plastic folds widely varied in arrangement and in some figures suggesting the body structure beneath the fabric. The relationship in space between one figure and the next is studied; the man to the right of the orant is not simply frontal, as in almost every other version, but stands in a three-quarters pose which is convincing even in its most trying detail, the feet. Most remarkable is the position of Christ in the Raising of Lazarus. The re-awakened sense of figures in space must have found a first object of dissatisfaction in the traditional rendering of this scene, with its Christ facing away from the tomb. In removing the spatial contradiction by showing Christ from the rear and thus facing Lazarus, the designer followed, of course, the best Hellenistic precedent. Whether his solution was directly achieved or was copied from earlier relief, its result is surprisingly like a sculpture of much earlier date in Venice, the so-called "Cleobis and Biton" (Fig. 36).¹¹⁷ Here is a degree of space consciousness which is rare even in pagan sarcophagi, the majority of which are as resolute in avoiding the rear view as are the Christian.¹¹⁸

115. See above pp. 152 ff.

116. Examples of the Fine Style have received recognition as a group only in the recent study of Gerke, in *Röm. Quart.* 1934, 1/2, pp. 1 ff. His interest here is chiefly in the columnar and city-gate sarcophagi of the latter part of the century, and so has only incidental contact with my own.

117. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III/3, 531, pl. 142.

118. The rear view is characteristically at home in the star-and-wreath atelier, as part of a rhythmic procession derived ultimately from the Neo-Attic. There is no need of any Eastern atelier, however,

to explain the Fine Style's practice, the less since I should date Clermont at the mid-century and twenty years before the earliest star-and-wreath example. The return to earlier Latin models in figure and drapery which is obvious at Clermont would involve the fourth century neo-classicist in a period when the rear view also was a favorite asset of relief. As a realistic element of figures in space and at the same time a device to vary the representation of crowds in a decorative sense, the rear pose hangs on in official Roman sculpture even into the Arch of Constantine. Its use on the Arles double-register sarcophagus in the Red Sea Passage is primarily realistic,

It is probably a recovered feeling for antique decorum which gives the Miracle of the Paralytic a novel form at Clermont. The healed is still shown as a boy, wearing the typical shoulder cape of the fourth century; instead of carrying the bed on his back, however, he rests it in front of him on the ground, to the great advantage of the design.¹¹⁹

Small details of drapery in the Clermont frieze should be noted for future comparison, the more significant in their absence from both the normal frieze tradition and from the "Asiatic" types. Chief of these is the handling of the pallium folds, which conventionally pass from below the right arm across the breast and over the left shoulder. In the Christ of the Issue, a thickness of this fold is detached and allowed to hang over the stomach, with what is apparently a weight at its center. In the figure to the left of the orant, this detached corner of the pallium hangs in a long triangular apron, almost to the knee.¹²⁰ Again should be noticed the total absence of the drapery arrangement most inevitable in the normal frieze tradition, the heavy togalike skirt caught up across the left wrist. The scarflike end of the pallium hangs free from the shoulder in either front or rear view.

Marked similarities to the Clermont frieze are apparent in a fragmentary trough at Rome, from the Cimitero di Pretestato (Fig. 40).¹²¹ In both the actors are slender and are draped in light stuffs which give no sense of bulk; this sense of comparative lightness is reiterated by the friezes as a whole, with their fairly open spacing of figures in moderate relief. Resemblance is most striking between the Lazarus Christ of Clermont and the "Moses" (by Wilpert's identification)¹²² of Pretestato (Figs. 37, 38). The drapery folds are almost identical in their fall, even to such small details as the flare of the skirt away from the right leg below the knee. The man to the left of the orant wears a weighted "apron" over his abdomen; there is apparently as complete a lack as at Clermont of the usual toga skirt. Drapery folds are in general of the same scale and frequency.

These two sarcophagi represented at its purest what I shall for convenience call Type A of the Fine Style. A somewhat less clearly definable Type B may be summarized by two examples in Gaul and Rome. One is the Arles frieze already familiar by its link to Clermont in Lazarus iconography (Fig. 34). Here the relationship to the normal frieze style, and particularly to its development in the Arles double-register sarcophagi, is much clearer than in Type A. Draperies are still indicated by incised grooves rather than by plastic folds. The Lazarus Christ wears the conventional toga skirt. There are no rear views; the figures on either side of the orant are almost frontal. The sculptor has his own appreciation of space relationship, however, and

and in the same tradition of Latin narrative as the triumphal reliefs of Trajan, etc. In the figure of Moses, there and on the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers, the rear view is rather a decorative contrast to the frontal Abraham, a sophistication of balance comparable to the design of second century sarcophagi.

119. I know of this detail only in two other sarcophagi in Italy, both apparently Latin imitations of the columnar style and later than Clermont (Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pls. 143/2, 3).

120. This detail, common in the arrangement of women's robes, is rare in masculine. Cf. the

"Aesculapius" of the Vatican Gall. della Pigna, Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, Berlin, 1908, I, 861-2, pl. 107. It appears constantly later in Alexandrian ivories: the British Museum archangel, the Cathedra of Maximianus, etc.

121. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 207/2.

122. Wilpert's interpretation of this scene is extremely labored. Its most direct interpretation, by which the altar, the tree, and the serpent, and the downward look of the actor are immediately explained, is Daniel feeding the Babylonian Dragon.



FIG. 45—*Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Front of Sarcophagus*

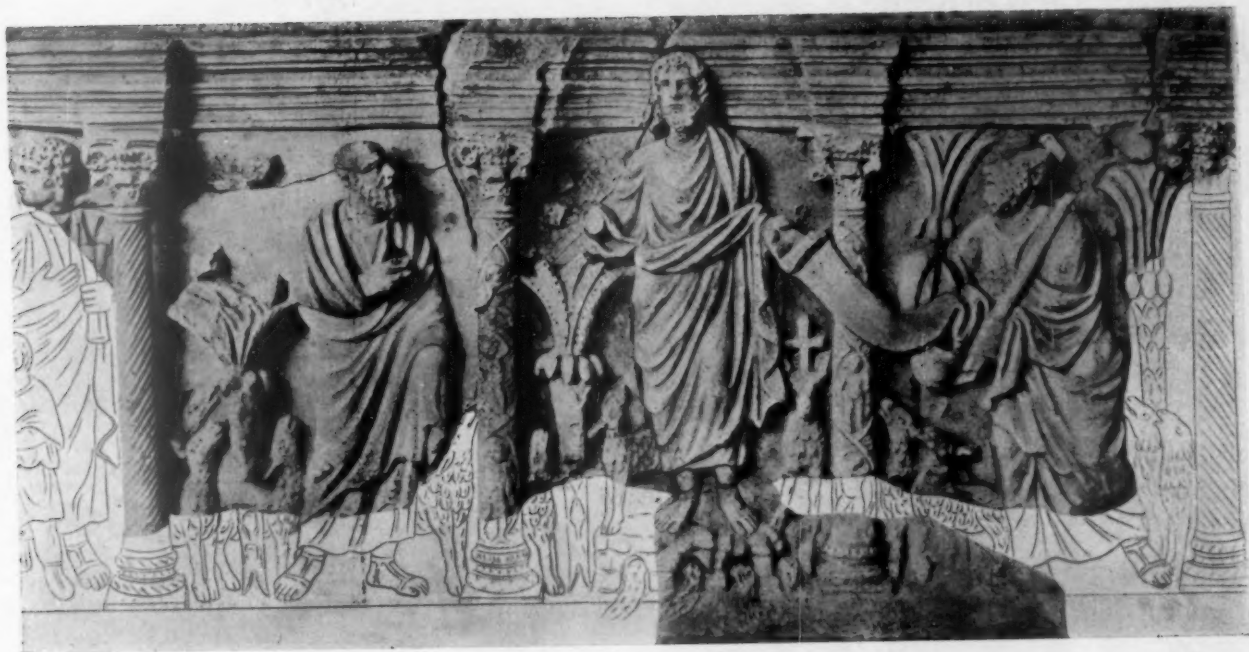


FIG. 46—*Rome, S. Sebastiano: Detail of Sarcophagus Front*



FIG. 47—*St. Maximin: Front of Sarcophagus*

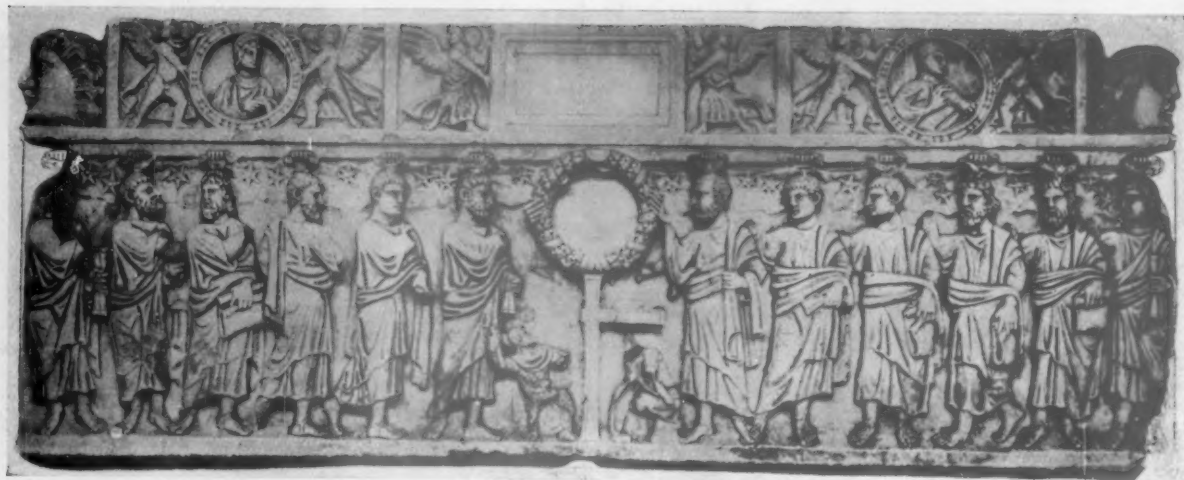


FIG. 48—*Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 49—*Rome, Vatican: Frieze*



FIG. 50—*Rome, Column of Trajan: Detail of Relief*



FIG. 51—*Cannes, Museum: Detail of Sarcophagus Front (drawing)*

exhibits it in a remarkable detail. The pots which indicate the Miracle of Cana are everywhere else strung out in one or two rows in the plane of the relief (cf. Figs. 5, 6). Here they are two only, and the second is *behind* the first. By a similar instinct the cock of Peter's Denial is shown frontally, so that his greatest dimension, length, may indicate the depth of the relief. Figures are, in general, adequately proportioned, except in difficult foreshortenings of the arms; in contrast to those of Type A the bodies look sturdier, and are given added bulk by heavy draperies. Revision of the non-antique formulae of the frieze tradition has here extended to the Miracle of the Spring, where the crouching gendarme is full size rather than the normal dwarf.¹²³

The Roman cousin in Type B is a trough fragment in the Museo di S. Callisto (Fig. 41).¹²⁴ Proportions are similarly sturdy; the draperies are rendered in the same technique of grooves, a derivation from earlier methods and at the same time a logical rearrangement of the folds. In both the free-hanging ends of the pallium are carved to suggest an edge wavering as it falls, and ending in a weight. The Christ of the Denial wears the toga skirt; Christ healing the Blind Born is shown from the rear.

The style of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus is to some extent a combination of these two types. The right half of the trough shows a sculptural method closely similar to Type A. The figures are slight, with heavy heads, and the draperies are plastically rendered. In their projection the folds exaggerate and coarsen the naturalism of Clermont and Pretestato. The Pretestato "Moses"-Daniel, for example, exhibits an unusual variety of folds running in several directions, spaced in a free and natural rhythm and moving from wide to thin and high to low, or fading away as the robe tightens around the leg. In comparison, the Two Brothers' Christ Healing the Blind is almost as unimaginatively stylized as a Gandhāran Buddha (Fig. 39). The folds are like so many ropes glued to the leg, repeating the same lengthening catenary in their descent and spaced almost evenly apart. Any fold less brutal in projection than these is rendered in time-honored fashion as a groove; so across the right shoulder of the same Christ, and on shoulders and sleeves in general. The single element in which the sculpture is more "classic" than at Pretestato and Clermont is its occasional recapture of the antique *contrapposto* which they largely lack.

The figures of the upper register to the left are in marked contrast to the style of the right side. The drapery system is much simplified; the individual fold is plastic by an effort, as it were, and in the Moses, at least, projects only to reinforce a groove running above it. In this reliance on grooving and in the "whiteness" of broad areas not crossed by any folds over the thigh and legs, the sculpture suggests particularly the Arles sarcophagus of Type B. In the Moses of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus appears something of the effect of bigness given by a small head and wide shoulders rare in late antique sculpture, which is at its height in the figure at Arles to the left of the orant.

In general, the sculptors of the Two Brothers' sepulcher seem to repeat with a heavy hand the drapery formulae more delicately handled elsewhere. Their relationship to Arles, Clermont, and Pretestato is unmistakable, however; the more so in its

123. The Blind Born remains of childlike dimension, since there is no narrative need to show him as an adult.

124. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 126/1.

contrast to both the normal frieze standard and to the "Asiatic" conventions of the columnar. On this sarcophagus reappear the pallium habits of Type A: the absence of the toga skirt, the fold hanging free from the shoulder either in front or rear view; on the Peter of the Miracle of the Spring, apparently a simplified triangular apron over the abdomen.

All subsequent examples of the Fine Style imitate in one way or another the rhythmically divided façade of the columnar type. In the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, as Lawrence has shown,¹²⁵ the new fashion is exhibited by an architecture whose details are at once elaborate and confused; something of the same uncertainty in combining two radically disparate traditions may account for a drapery which in many of its details is unique (Fig. 16). There is no indication of any direct copying from the columnar figure tradition, however, and the closest of all parallels is the Clermont frieze. In the latter's Christ Healing the Woman with an Issue appears the same extremely rare thigh treatment as in the Bassus Abraham; the folds which normally cross the thigh in an upward direction to gather at the waist, in these two slant downward to the knee. The Bassus drapery has the subtlety of Clermont and Pretestato combined with a curious lack of system at its strangest in the Christ before Pilate. Occasional areas like the left leg of Peter show the "whiteness" of the Two Brothers' simpler style. The pallium conventions of Type A are repeated here: the lack of a toga skirt, the shoulder fold hanging free, the "apron" clearly visible on Abraham.

In the Execution of Paul the Bassus sarcophagus illustrates the ability of the Fine Style to adjust inherited composition to a more spatial arrangement. The Bassus scene is derived from an "Asiatic" columnar example like that at St. Maximin (Fig. 47),¹²⁶ placed earlier in her chronology by Lawrence because it uses as a naturalistic substitute for the conch an early eagle, which by the period of the Bassus sarcophagus has shrunk to a purely vestigial head. At St. Maximin Paul is frontal and the group is contained within a single plane. In the Bassus version, the apostle has been moved to a profile position, which contrasts effectively with the twisting frontality of the executioner.

A last characteristic of the Fine Style, seen at Clermont in the revision of the Paralytic and at Arles in the substitution of a full-sized gendarme for the usual dwarf—the attempt to purify Christian illustration of elements which are blatantly non-classic—probably accounts for the form given in the Bassus sarcophagus and thereafter to the Arrest of Peter. The soldiers no longer wear the realistic fourth century cap, but are bareheaded, and the whole scene, which had been one of violence, is invested, like the parallel Sacrifice of Isaac, with a new dignity.¹²⁷

125. Lawrence, *Columnar*, pp. 128 ff.

126. *Ibid.*, no. 4; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 145/1.

127. Wilpert (*Sarcophagi*, I, pp. 115 ff., 164 ff.) has worked out an elaborate theory to account for the difference between this group and the typical frieze version. The latter, in which Peter is shown struggling against captors who wear the cylindrical birettas of the police, represents the first arrest of the apostle, by Herod Agrippa (Acts xii: 3-4); Peter's agitation stems from his realization that death will

mean a premature end of his great missionary career. The scene presented by the Bassus relief is then the last arrest in Rome; the noble calm of Peter here indicates that his work is done and that he accepts martyrdom willingly. However, an identical contrast between violence and calm dignity is shown by a comparison of the primitive Sacrifice of Isaac with the group on the Bassus sarcophagus. The change is simply one in the ideal of illustration.

The Fine Style in variant forms may be further studied in the seven-bay sarcophagus at Perugia, in the tree sarcophagi of the Louvre, of Arles, and of the Museo di S. Sebastiano, and in the latter's level-entablature fragment (Figs. 43-46).¹²⁸

128. The seven-arch-and-gable sarcophagus at Perugia (Lawrence, no. 32; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 28/3; Fig. 42), has been placed by Lawrence in the Bassus atelier; its close relationship in figure style to the larger work has thus been already emphasized. The drapery shows a simplification of the Bassus manner which in its relative coarseness is a move toward the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers; some of the folds seem clearly grooved. The projecting thigh is apparently crossed by no folds, a reduction to final terms of the flat downward fold system of the Bassus and Clermont examples. At the left the two figures wear the apron, and none shows the toga skirt. On the far left the pallium seems for the first time in this series to imitate the "Eastern" form, in its diagonal rising from ankle to knee.

The finest fully preserved example of tree sarcophagi is one now in the Louvre, but originally Roman (Lawrence, no. 73; Wilpert pl. 116/1; Fig. 43). Iconographically the direct descent of this sculpture from the frieze tradition of the Two Brothers and of the Pretestato fragment is proved by its use of their unique detail of the woman kissing Christ's hand (see above, p. 185). Its drapery is in large measure plastic. A suppression of folds across the thigh recalls the Perugian sculpture; the latter at the extreme right does carelessly what is more skillfully accomplished in the Louvre's Christ prophesying Peter's Denial. The pallium fold hangs free from the shoulder as at Clermont; beyond the style of that sarcophagus, the tree example has progressed chiefly in an insistent *contrapposto*.

Fragments of a tree sarcophagus with an even more elaborate drapery are preserved in the Museo di S. Sebastiano at Rome (Lawrence, no. 71; Wilpert pl. 142/2; Fig. 44). A derivation from the Bassus sculpture both in style and iconography is clear in the Arrest of Peter. The corresponding Execution of Paul has been corrupted by substituting for the fine backhand swing of the Bassus soldier a weak frontality. The saint himself is simply reversed, and preserves the Bassus profile rather than the St. Maximin frontal pose.

The Fine Style of Type A at its closest to the alien columnar tradition is seen in a four-bay fragment in the Museo di S. Sebastiano, with level entablature (Fig. 46; Lawrence no. 21, Wilpert, pl. 149/1). This has been extensively discussed by Gerke in relationship to the Arles "Asiatic" version of the same figure group (Lawrence, no. 9; Wilpert, pl. 12/4). He points out marked differences in technique; in the Roman a free plastic drapery, a softly molded face, comparatively naturalistic hair and eyes; in the Gallic a schematization and hardening throughout. He concludes that the Roman version is the original from which the other was copied. This is an interesting inversion of Lawrence's thesis, but hardly to be taken seriously. Its fundamental premise, that the "Asiatic" figure style is simply a degenerate and stiffened version of the Fine Style, is quite untenable. The two represent wholly separate traditions, meeting

in their purest form neither in technique nor iconography nor design nor even in the method of wearing the pallium. The Fine Style begins in frieze sarcophagi like Clermont, and enters the columnar field only to meet a new source of competition. In the S. Sebastiano fragment it is actually farther than anywhere else from its original and typical Latin uses. The subject as sculpture is derived from the upper Italian city-gate tradition, closely linked to the Gallic columnar, and completely foreign—as in the detail of the bearded Christ—to Roman practice. Incongruous details emphasize the irregularity of this single version of the theme. The subject stems from the city-gate repertory, and the architecture from the columnar; the bearded Christ is an Eastern type, here rendered by the technique of the Latin Fine Style at its best and wearing a pallium draped in purely Latin fashion. The robes of Peter and Paul, on the other hand, seem to imitate "Asiatic" drapery, since the pallium corner hangs just above the forward knee. The elaborate capitals, finally, contain a detail which I shall discuss later, which runs through the work of the Bassus atelier and in every case indicates a Latin handling of the columnar forms: a rosette in place of the volute.

A strong resemblance to the simpler style of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus and particularly to its Christ of the Denial is given by a tree sarcophagus at Arles (Lawrence, no. 81; Wilpert, pl. 227/2; Fig. 45). Lawrence has attributed this tentatively to the star-and-wreath atelier, on grounds which seem to me quite inadequate. To be sure, the very obvious rhythm which moves across the face of the sarcophagus is new to the frieze tradition, and must represent an imitation of the effect gained more subtly by the city-gate and star-and-wreath ateliers. In other respects, however, the work is firmly rooted in the Latin past. The subjects illustrated are without exception commonplaces of the frieze repertory. Lawrence has shown that the heads are extensively recut, and that all but two must therefore be omitted from stylistic analysis. The bodies are unimpaired. A comparison of the Christ of Cana, at the right of the orant, to the Denial Christ of the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers, indicates beyond question the proper relationship of the sculpture. In the tree sarcophagus the work is at once more sophisticated in its *contrapposto*, and less crisp in execution; the two bodies are otherwise as close as it is possible to be without a direct copy. In both a wide "white" triangle over the right hip contrasts with the thick, crowded folds crossing the chest above; two long folds descend from the waist to circle around the thigh; below them two more rise to fade out against the projecting left leg. The left thigh is crossed by no drapery lines; just below the knee a fold swings from the rear to hook against the kneecap, and the skirt itself has a perceptible crease down the front. The fold technique is in both cases that of a groove reinforced below by a plastic projection.

The fact that two heads which seem unrestored

The examples here passed in review form the nucleus of the Latin contribution to the Fine Style of the third quarter of the century; a brief renaissance of sculpture whose parallels in the "Asiatic" tradition are the early city-gate and star-and-wreath sarcophagi, and the best of the Gallic columnar. In both traditions this revival expressed itself in a renewed interest in the dignity and beauty of the human body, and in the beauty of plastic drapery. In both the illustrative method favored a classic decorum whose result, in the scenes of arrest or in the Sacrifice of Isaac, is in marked contrast to the violence of the primitive frieze. Beyond these general similarities, however, the Latin and "Asiatic" strains stand well apart. The figure style of the latter has been well analyzed by Lawrence;¹²⁹ its ideal is a decorative one, to which the figure conforms both in general pose and in all lesser details, and its preoccupation is with a linear rhythm expressed in two dimensions. The Latin Fine Style, on the other hand, returned to a realistic ideal of figures moving freely in three-dimensional space. The contrast between the two is most vividly brought out in the use which each current made of an element very rare in late antique sculpture, the rear pose. In the star-and-wreath sarcophagi this device is used to lend a decorative variety to a row of figures moving within a single plane of relief (Fig. 48). Its source lies in the same Neo-Attic tradition which inspired much earlier the Vatican frieze of the Pyrrhic dance (Fig. 49). The Latin rear view is used rather to establish a relationship in space; at Clermont between Christ and the tomb, on the Two Brothers' sarcophagus within the whole group of Christ Healing the Blind.¹³⁰ The same contrast between a concern for grouping in depth and a lack of interest therein is seen constantly in the rival sarcophagus series; in the Pilate scene, for example, between the versions of the Two Brothers and of St. Maximin (Fig. 47), in the Execution of Paul between the Bassus sarcophagus and that of St. Maximin, in the Red Sea Passage between the Latin representations of Arles and the general "Asiatic" version.

In the fleeing Israelites of Arles, the mid-fourth century achieves easily in high relief the spatial freedom attempted in low by the column of Trajan (Fig. 50). I have shown above a second century parallel, in a pagan sarcophagus, to the Clermont Lazarus; in a sepulchral frieze of the same period like that of Alcestis at Cannes (Fig. 51)¹³¹ appears a free grouping of figures, diversified by the rear view, like that on the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers. In such an ideal of figure composition, as in the plastic rendering of details and the avoidance of the drill, the Latin Fine Style seems to turn for inspiration to monuments of the second or early third century;¹³² probably, because of atelier tradition, to such pagan sarcophagi as those cited above.¹³³

The reasons for such a revival of sculpture at the mid-fourth century can hardly be explained except as a reflection of the new incentive given the artist by a fresh content, and by a rising demand for his product. The third century saw the rapid decline of

suggest an "Asiatic" formula, reinforces the impression of eclecticism already given by the rhythm of the whole façade. The basis, however, against which all borrowings stand out, is a Latin tradition in the Fine Style of the Two Brothers sarcophagus.

129. Lawrence, *City-gate*, p. 34.

130. The Latin style uses the rear view decoratively only in its opposition between the figures of

Moses and Abraham on the double-register sarcophagi.

131. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III/1, pp. 26 ff., pl. 6/22.

132. *Ibid.*, III/3, fig. p. 429.

133. Gerke (*Röm. Quart.* 1934, 1/2, 1 ff.) has noted a return to Antonine models especially in the city-gate sarcophagi, in such details as the lid acroteria, the careful finish of the trough interior, etc.

a pagan sculpture feeding only on the dry bones of the past, and interesting neither to the artist nor to his public; the climax of this decadence is visible in the reliefs of the Arch of Constantine, and its results inevitably colored the first attempts of the academic tradition to fill the new service of Christianity. With the Constantinian renaissance postulated by Wilpert,¹³⁴ I quarrel only in the question of date, and repudiate only the possibility of so abrupt an improvement. The forty-five years which lie between the arch reliefs and the Bassus sarcophagus are none too long to effect the reversal of a far greater period of degeneration. Wilpert himself cites, as a factor in the revival, an edict of Constantine issued posthumously in 337 and addressed to Maximus, Pretorian Prefect of Italy, which ordered an encouragement of the arts by a removal of burdens laid on their practitioners by the state.¹³⁵ The positive effects of such a policy could hardly be felt before the mid-century.

That the revival was not confined to the Latin West, but played its appropriate part in the creation of a new Rome on the Bosphorus, is proved by the prince's sarcophagus recently discovered in Istanbul (Figs. 52-54).¹³⁶ The three sculptured faces of this trough comprise a front carved with two Victories in flight, holding between them a wreath which frames the six-armed cross; and two ends, each with a Latin cross flanked by two standing apostles. The figure style here is unexcelled in quality by the best of the Western sarcophagi. Although the faults typical of all late antique sculpture are not absent, the draperies are convincingly plastic and varied in their folds; details like hands, feet, and wings are given scrupulous attention; the heads of the Victories are strongly classic, while the single finished apostle head has the character of a successful portrait. The drill is not used. Comparison with the Arch of Galerius at Salonika at the end of the third century, and with the columnar sarcophagus fragment from Sulu-Monastir in Berlin which Morey ascribes to c. 400, will show that this princely sepulcher must represent a short-lived fourth century renaissance of sculpture in the East, wholly analogous to that which produced the great Latin sarcophagi.

The end of the Fine Style came either as a relapse into the slovenliness natural to Latin tradition, or as an absorption by the "Asiatic" style. The chief characteristic of the revival, its spatial composition of relief, could be held only briefly in the face of an unsympathetic *Zeitgeist*. Its crest was already past in 360; neither the Bassus sarcophagus nor any later member of that atelier made use of the rear view. In the process thereafter of a reduction to the single "Asiatic" figure plane, I have

134. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, II, p. 14; *Röm. Quart.*, 1922, p. 34.

135. Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, II, 2. Cod. Theod. XIII, 4; Imp. Constantinus A. ad Maximum: "Artifices artium brevi subdito comprehensarum, per singulas civitates morantes, ab universis muneribus vacare praecepimus, si quidem ediscendis artibus otium sit accommodandum, quo magis cupiant et ipsi peritiores fieri et suos filios erudire. Architectos.... pictores, sculptores...."

136. A. Mufit, *Ein Prinzensarkophag aus Istanbul*, in *Museleri Nesriyatı*, X (1934), pp. 1 ff. The apostles here gesturing in reverent wonder at either side of the Cross, are close cousins to the worshipping figures

of Ravenna and the city-gate sarcophagus tradition. Of the two Western styles, they stand in closer kinship to the Ravennate, and thus to sarcophagi like that of the Pignatti in S. Francesco or of Pietro degli Onesti in S. Maria, where a retention of classical feeling is still fairly strong. In comparison, the mannerisms of Lawrence's series are less classic and more "Asiatic," more characteristic of the late antique as a whole and less retrospective. All the same, the resemblances between the figure style of the Istanbul piece and the "Asiatic" sarcophagus type, in common contrast to that of the Latin frieze tradition, are strong enough to substantiate Lawrence's claim of an ultimate Eastern origin for her series.

already illustrated a step: the breakdown into flatness, in later handling, of the Bassus's Execution of Paul. The change was all the more inevitable since the "Asiatic" style, in its two dimensionality and emphasis on linear rhythm, was supported by the whole trend of late antique art toward the mediaeval.¹³⁷

The initial surrender of the Latin style to the "Asiatic" was of course its adoption of the unfamiliar columnar division. Various aspects of that compromise have been studied by Lawrence, most thoroughly in the work of the Bassus atelier.¹³⁸ Outside of this series the completeness of her study of columnar monuments has suffered from a comparative lack of interest in monuments which are not clearly "Asiatic" in character. These, as the probable successors of the Latin frieze tradition, are here the primary concern; a more thorough study may give them a definition lacking in Lawrence's system; their coherent assembling is in any case essential to a full understanding of fourth century sculpture.

Outside of the fifty-five sarcophagi placed by Lawrence in seven ateliers of Gaul, North Italy, and Rome, there remain a large number fairly obscure both in provenance and relationship. Toward their distribution Lawrence has advanced a few factors operating generally throughout the whole collection. These are the distinctive formulae of "Asiatic" figure style and ornament as contrasted with the Latin, and a very loose distinction in subject matter; in the large group of seven-bay sarcophagi the Italian examples use almost exclusively a single figure per bay, the Gallic a group presenting a historic scene. An "Asiatic" tendency to centralize the façade by a clearly marked axial bay dies out toward the end of the century.¹³⁹

A good deal more than this can be accomplished, and indeed should be; not merely for a greater precision in detail, but because the distinction made above by Lawrence between Italy and Gaul is without strict qualification misleading.

137. The gradual conquest of the Latin style by the "Asiatic" may be most systematically studied in the one group of Roman columnar sarcophagi which seems to preserve the continuity of a single atelier: that of the Junius Bassus sarcophagus. No absolute chronology for the series exists, of course; however, the arrangement given it by Lawrence is made the more probable by the corroboration of my own criteria (Lawrence, *Columnar*, p. 184). There is evident in the group first a clear development of iconography. In the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Bassus version presents the scene substantially as on the Two Brothers' sarcophagus, with Isaac kneeling on the ground. Lateran 174 (Lawrence, no. 20; Wilpert, pl. 121) places the child kneeling on the altar, in complete assimilation at last of the city-gate type. In the Pilate scene, the Bassus scene is again linked to that of the Two Brothers' sarcophagus by its use of the pier stand. Lateran 171 (Lawrence, no. 26; Wilpert, pl. 146/3) has instead the tripod of the general sarcophagus convention. Lateran 174 presents what seems to be a new version of the group, related both to the North Mediterranean and to the East. Here Pilate's long tunic and the absence of the normal clepsydra stand, seem to link the scene to a group of monuments: the Brescia casket, the British Museum and Milan Passion ivories of Smith's Provençal group, and a mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo (cf. note 92 above).

The abnormally high dais upon which Pilate sits may be a misunderstanding of the table in front of the judge's throne in the Rossano and Rabula Gospels. The first of these manuscripts suggests an earlier Eastern pictorial prototype for the whole group (Munoz, *Il codice purpureo...*, pl. 13).

In the Denial by Peter, both Lateran 174 and Leyden (Lawrence, no. 6) elevate the cock on a pedestal. Leyden, finally, in the Healing of the Blind uses instead of the single figure of Latin tradition, the Eastern iconography of two blind men: a detail which elsewhere appears in the Early Christian West only in the Bethesda sarcophagi at the end of the century (Lawrence, *City-gate*, pp. 23 ff., 29) and in a mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo. In this sarcophagus at Leyden appears an almost complete assimilation of "Asiatic" drapery; only Christ Healing the Blind seems to retain the old toga skirt.

The four earlier members of the series use in their composite capitals a rosette in place of the volute, a detail usually found in sarcophagi whose columnar arrangement is combined with a strong retention of Latin characteristics. The last two, Lateran 174 and Leyden, have the normal volute of the "Asiatic" type.

138. Lawrence, *Columnar*, pp. 128 ff.

139. *Ibid.*, p. 135.



FIG. 52—*Istanbul, Ottoman Museum: Front of Sarcophagus*



FIGS. 53, 54—*Istanbul, Ottoman Museum: Ends of Sarcophagus*



FIG. 55—*Arles, Musée Lapidaire: Detail of Sarcophagus Front*



FIG. 56—*Rome, Lateran:*
Detail of Sarcophagus Front



FIG. 57—*Rome, Grotte Vaticane:*
Detail of Sarcophagus Front



FIG. 58—*St. Maximin:*
Detail of Sarcophagus
Front



FIG. 59—*Rome, Lateran:*
Detail of Sarcophagus
Front



FIG. 60—*Rome, S. Lorenzo*
Fuori le Mura: Detail of
Sarcophagus Front



FIG. 61—*Ancona, Cathedral:*
Detail of Sarcophagus
Back



FIG. 62—*Martos:*
Detail of Sarcophagus
Front



FIG. 63—*Arles, Musée*
Lapidaire: Detail of
Sarcophagus Front

Four criteria may be used, in combination wherever possible, to distinguish the Latin imitation of the columnar form from the purely "Asiatic" original. The first is that all sculptures which use a Latin repertory of subject matter, derived from the long tradition of the catacombs and frieze sarcophagi are themselves basically Latin unless proved otherwise. The second is the use of a Latin draping of the pallium.¹⁴⁰ The third is the presence of a curious architectural detail, seen at its most elaborate in the capitals of the Bassus sarcophagus (Fig. 57); the use of a rosette in place of the usual composite volute.¹⁴¹ The fourth is an iconographic feature: the position of the cock whose presence with Christ and a bearded apostle signified the Prophecy of Peter's Denial. The invariable practice of frieze sarcophagi, in which this scene is a favorite, is to place the bird on the ground (Fig. 1). A smaller group of monuments, whose connection with the "Asiatic" tradition is either direct or a matter of obvious copying, elevate the cock on a rock or pedestal.¹⁴² I know of only one instance in which an admittedly "Asiatic" sarcophagus is influenced by the Latin custom;¹⁴³ it is probable, on the other hand, that the Latin ateliers, in this detail as elsewhere, were comparatively more ready to accept the formula of their rivals.

It is not the purpose here to attempt an exhaustive catalogue of Latin columnar sarcophagi, but only to suggest a differentiation which is not clearly made by Lawrence,

140. Only in rare instances is there anything but the clearest separation between the two drapery traditions. The "Asiatic" style is almost completely homogeneous, admitting no variation of the pallium greater than a reversal of direction in the fall of its edge from knee to ankle. I know of only one example in which an "Asiatic" sculptor seems to have imitated the Latin arrangement: the star-and-wreath sarcophagus at Palermo (Lawrence, no. 92; Wilpert, pl. 239/2). The Latin sculptor is somewhat more likely to take over "Asiatic" drapery.

141. This detail has been noticed by Lawrence (*Columnar*, p. 131, note 57) but her statistic accounts for only a small fraction of its many appearances. My application of the feature as a criterion has been hindered by the circumstances of my study; the great collection of photographs published by Monsignor Wilpert, without which no such comparisons would be possible and for whose existence every student of Early Christian art must profess the deepest gratitude, is in considerable degree composed of prints so mediocre in themselves and so thoroughly retouched as to be worthless in the examination of any but general features. My list of rosette capitals is therefore only approximately complete. It may be erroneous, as well, in those instances in which I have had to rely on a questionable photograph. I place, therefore, only a supplementary confidence in its findings.

142. Three of these are "Asiatic" columnar sarcophagi of Gaul, and a lost fourth (Wilpert, pls. 45/3, 39/2, 111/2; Garrucci, 399/6). A Roman fragment shows Peter wearing the "Asiatic" pallium (Wilpert, pl. 108/3). Two other Roman examples are members of the eclectic Bassus atelier (Wilpert, pls. 121/3, and I, 160, fig. 93). The sole occurrence of the group in the catacombs (Wilpert, *Pitt. Cat.*, pl. 242) places the cock on a high pier; it is dated by Wilpert in the latter half of the fourth century, thus well within the period of strong outside influence on Rome, and

the Christ is bearded in Eastern fashion. In later art, the same scene of the Prophecy is composed with the elevated cock in monuments exclusively of Upper Italian connections: the doors of S. Sabina, a mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo, and a ciborium column of S. Marco. See above, note 92.

The origin of this distinction forms a problem of some interest. The scene in Latin frieze sarcophagi was composed inevitably with the cock on the ground; the bird is an attribute, and like the pots of the Miracle of Cana or the mummy of the Widow's Son, belongs at Christ's feet; there is actually no room for it anywhere else in the design of the normal frieze. A similar problem in pagan frieze sarcophagi effected the placing on the ground line of Minerva's owl (Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III, p. 67).

In the columnar sarcophagi of Gaul, on the other hand, the design of the bay with the cock on a pillar beside the figures may have grown out of a curious, apparently localized feature of pagan iconography. In Gaul and particularly in the Rhineland have been preserved a great number of reliefs showing sometimes a single divinity and sometimes a set of four around a pedestal. Characteristically, each of these gods and goddesses is provided with a bird as attribute, which often stands at shoulder level on a column or pier: Mercury receives the cock, Apollo the raven, Juno the peacock, Minerva the owl, etc. (cf. Espérandieu, *Recueil*, VII, p. 183; VIII, pp. 6, 9, 11, 13, etc.). In a few cases the reliefs are dated in the third century (*ibid.*, VII, p. 274, is dated 206 A.D.). Note also a silver dish found in Normandy, showing the god Mercury flanked by two columns bearing one a cock, the other a tortoise (Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1819). I have not found this detail of pagan iconography in Italy.

143. Lawrence, *Columnar*, no. 1; Wilpert, *Sarcophagi*, pl. 145/7.

and which may well be followed by a more detailed study. Following the classification adopted by Lawrence,¹⁴⁴ the table below in the first column at the left will give the number according to Lawrence's arrangement and the second the plate number in Wilpert's *Sarcophagi*. The following five columns record each a single detail of treatment. Under the first two, "Conch and Ovolo Band," an "X" marks the presence of the detail, an "O" its absence. Under the heading "Volute-Rosette," a "V" marks the first, an "R" the second. Under "Pallium," an "L" marks the Latin type, "A" the "Asiatic." Under "Cock," "U" indicates an elevated position, "D" the cock on the ground.

LATIN COLUMNAR SARCOPHAGI

			CONCH	OVULO BAND	VOLUTE-ROSETTE	PALLIUM	COCK	SPANDREL ORNAMENT	
FIVE ARCH									
5	45/1	Arles	X	X	?	L		ruined	Latin cycle. Archivolts like Bassus. Sacrifice with primitive exomis, concave rock. In 340's?
	112/1	Arles	lost	lost	lost		D	lost	Miracles.
6		Leyden	X	X	V	A	U	Jonah, triton	Late Bassus atelier. Eastern iconography and style.
LEVEL ENTABLATURE									
20	121	Rome, Lateran 174	O	X	V	L	U		Late Bassus atelier.
21	149	Rome, S. Seb.	O	X	R	L			Christ, Peter, Paul.
FIVE ARCH AND GABLE									
26	146/3	Rome, Lateran 171	X	X	R	L		putti, sun, moon	Transitional Bassus atelier.
30	116/3	Fermo	O	X	R	L		figures	Queer subjects, Eastern sway.
32	143/2	Rome, Lateran 155	O	?	V	A	D	bird, wreath	Miracle cycle. Paralytic in Clermont form. Latin figure style, in spite of drapery and volute.
SEVEN ARCH AND GABLE									
33	28/3	Perugia	O	X	R	L		triton, wreath, bird	Single figure per bay. Early Bassus atelier. Caelus at center.
34	31/5	Rome, Tedesco		X	R	A		bird, urn	Single figure; fragment.
35		Brescia	O	?	?	L		?	Single figure. Caelus at center.
36	32/3	Arles	O	X	R	L		triton, wreath	Single figure.
37	124/2	Rome, Lateran 138	O	X		L	U	conch, busts	Single figure. (Cock in tree).
38	124/1	Rome, Domitilla	O	?	?	?		?	Single figure; fragment.

144. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 ff.

SEVEN ARCH AND GABLE			CONCH	OVULO BAND	VOLUTE-ROSETTE	PALLIUM	COCK	SPANDREL ORNAMENT	
39	180	Rome, Lateran 152	O	X	X	L	D	<i>putti</i> , dolphin	Latin miracles. Concave rock. Note weighted V apron.
40	135/5	Rome, Tedesco	O	X	?	L		bird	Latin miracles, fragment.
41	111/3	Nîmes	O	X	R	A	D	wreath, bird	Center 3 bays Eastern labarum and Apostles. Transitional.
42	26/3	Narbonne	O	?	?	?		?	Latin miracles, rear views. Caelus at center.
43	29/3	Algiers	O	X	R	A	D	wreath	Latin miracles, Daniel and dragon. Caelus and city-gate type "donors" at center.
44	195/2	Rome, Lateran 195	O	?	?	L		pot?	Latin miracle, rear view. Daniel's judgment.
45	116/2	Martos	O	X	R	L		wreath	Latin miracles.
46	122/1	Lyons	O		R	L	D	birds, pots	Latin miracles, Peter teaching on rock.
47	143/3	Civita Castellana	O	X	?	A	D	?	Latin miracles; Paralytic has Clermont form. New "Asiatic" version of Cana with added servant.

SEVEN ARCH

50	227	Arles	X	O	R	L		wreath, bird	Latin miracles. Orant and 2 on axis. Cf. tree sarc. W.
51	11/1	Madrid	O	X	?	A		wreath	Latin miracles, Baptism, Sacrifice with Isaac sitting on altar; Christ flanked by 2 apostles bays at center. Transitional.
52	38/1	Arles	X	X	R	L		wreath	Single figure per bay. Lawrence calls this "star-and-wreath."
53	27/5	Rome, Lorenzo	X	?	?	L		tree	Single figure.
54	32/1	Rome, Lateran	X	?	?	L A		?	Single figure. Conch over center bay only. Heavy abacus like Bassus.

TWO REGISTER

69	13	Rome, Grotte Vaticane	X	X	R	L		lamb scenes	Junius Bassus.
70	125/2	Arles	O	X	R	L A	D	wreath, bird	Latin miracles, Daniel and dragon etc.

FRAGMENTS

149	109/1	Avignon	X	X	R	L		?	Latin miracle type.
	141/4	Arles	O	O	R	L		wreath	Close to Arles 2-frieze.
	233/4	Rome		X	R	L		bird	Quasi-Fine Style with weighted apron. "Baroque" gable. Heavy abacus, curving ovolo band.
	242/6	Rome, Capitol	O	X	?	A		basket	Bay next to clipeus with busts. Eastern style, transitional.

PANEL AND STRIGIL ETC.

63/3	Rome	O	X	R	L				Orant. Close to fragment above, W. 233/4.
160	Rome	X	?	?	L				Conch uncut; given eagle head as in Bassus. Martyr seems to have 380 coiffure.

By the application of the same criteria, excepting, of course, the architectural, all of the tree sarcophagi proper, may be claimed as the work of basically Latin ateliers (Figs. 43-45).¹⁴⁵ Their typical subjects are those of the primitive frieze repertory, enriched by later Latin additions such as Peter Teaching and Daniel and the Babylonian Dragon. A few imitate "Eastern" subject matter. In this category Lawrence's nos. 71 and 72 in Rome recall the manner of the Bassus atelier, both with Latin drapery and the first in the Fine Style. 79 in Marseilles shows the cock on the ground, and rather uncertain Latin draperies. Two which present processions of apostles on either side of a cross, nos. 75 and 77, handle the "Eastern" scene in a clearly imitative way. Lawrence has emphasized, as a link between these tree sarcophagi and the Sidamara pagan tradition, a columnar fragment in Rome, no. 53, on which the spandrel is filled with tree branches and a bird.¹⁴⁶ This, appropriately, is the work of a Latin sculptor, both from the figure style and from the rosette capital. The stylistic relationship between the tree examples and hunt sarcophagi of Rome and Gaul joins them to one of the most vigorous currents of fourth century Latin sculpture.¹⁴⁷

A few of the Latin columnar series must be singled out for especial notice. I have already discussed the fragmentary Arles lid (Fig. 13) as a close link to the double-frieze tradition.¹⁴⁸ No. 5 at Arles is peculiarly important because its ornament is almost identical with that of the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, while its iconography is more primitive (Fig. 55). It may serve, therefore, as one more detail indicating a direct Gallic influence on the Bassus atelier. The most surprising appearance of the rosette capital is on the rear of the Ancona city-gate sarcophagus (Fig. 61). The front shows the usual volutes behind Christ; on the back the subject which the architecture frames, a Latin *manuum iunctio* with the husband wearing a toga, seems to have effected the imitation of a Latin detail of ornament.

The early Latin capital, as seen on no. 39 in Rome (Fig. 59) or 52 in Arles, is fairly close to the "Eastern" columnar norm of no. 1 at St. Maximin (Fig. 58). Its shape is high and flaring; rosettes and abacus swing forward on the silhouette, while the ovolo molding between bows out on the reverse curve. The rosettes are joined, so that they seem an ornament masking the center of the usual volute rather than a separate feature. Between them are carefully carved an egg-and-dart molding and a narrower row which seems a degenerate bead-and-reel. The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus handles this formula with unique awkwardness (Fig. 57). The later development tends to compress the capital into what at Martos, no. 45, is markedly a basket shape (Fig. 62) and at the same time to flatten its three-dimensional curves into a single plane, to omit any band joining the rosettes to the body of the capital, and finally to degrade in various ways the interior moldings. So on 36 at Arles (Fig. 63) the egg-and-dart has disappeared and the bead-and-reel has been enlarged to a coarse billet molding. On 50 at Arles both have disappeared, so that the acanthus runs up between the rosettes to touch the abacus. The version on the city-gate rear at Ancona (Fig. 61) affords an index of form in the 90's.

145. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, no. 89, in Ravenna is the single clearly Eastern *Ausläufer*.

146. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, no. 53; Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pl. 27/5.

147. G. Rodenwaldt, in *Röm. Mitth.*, 1921-2, pp. 58 ff.

148. See above, pp. 170 f.

LI TRESORS OF BRUNETTO LATINI

By ALEXANDRA CONSTANTINOWA

BRUNETTO Latini (1210-1295), Dante Alighieri's teacher, and a Florentine notary, was a very active statesman of the Guelph party. After the defeat of the Guelphs in 1260 at Montaperti, being exiled, he lived in Picardy, in the wealthy town of Arras, where he wrote his celebrated and justly popular encyclopaedia, *Li tresors*, on the nature and origin of all things.

As a secular, scientific book written in French, this encyclopaedia enjoyed an extraordinary success. All booklovers had it in their libraries; some had five, even seven, editions of it.

The thirteenth century manuscript of Brunetto's work in the manuscript section of the State Public Library at Leningrad, is a precious document for the historian, the philologist,¹ and the art scholar. It is divided into three parts: an encyclopaedia which includes history from the creation of the world to the time of Brunetto, cosmography, geography, and zoölogy; a treatise on ethics; the principles of rhetoric, or of *bene parlare*, and of politics, or *ars governandi*. The manuscript has a number of readings not found in earlier editions but of considerable value. The *ex libris* and the arms on the last page of the manuscript show that it probably belonged to the library of the branch of the celebrated Coligny family that, in 1441, added to their escutcheon the arms and name of the Saligny, who became their sole representatives in the seventeenth century. The binding of the manuscript belongs to the seventeenth century and is of brown leather, with brown and dark blue impressions of a peculiar triangular design.

The encyclopaedia of Brunetto Latini may well be called a treasure because of the variety and the richness of its illumination. The decoration consists of most exquisite initials of dark rose and blue, with delicate, white designs and a filling of acanthus leaves and grotesques on magnificent gold ground, and of very elegant *filets bordures*, with other interesting grotesques, extending from the initials. The illustration corresponds to the varied contents of the encyclopaedia. There are miniatures of the genesis of ancient history (*e. g.*, the Amazon story), of French and Italian mediaeval history, of subjects taken from the Bible and the Gospels; and a number of zoölogical miniatures, depicting fishes, reptiles, birds, and quadrupeds. In addition, there are miniatures of the creation of the world and some of abstract nature, illustrating the vices and virtues, eloquence, etc. Of the eighty-nine illustrative miniatures, sixty are of zoölogical subjects. And to the number of these miniatures should be added from the *filets bordures* the eighteen miniatures of the big grotesques. The total number of one hundred seven illustrative miniatures are all good, well-preserved specimens of the French Gothic style of the end of the thirteenth century,

1. The author is greatly indebted to Mrs. Helen Strakhovich, the philologist, who has been good enough to study the manuscript. It is her opinion

that the manuscript is written in the Picardian dialect of the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

and supply complete and varied iconographical material. Since they offer more sociologically than artistically, the grotesques will be considered from that standpoint later in this paper.

"Fishes are innumerable," says Latini,² "Pliny enumerates one hundred forty-four." Latini himself lists the sawfish, with a comb on its back, which it uses as a sail, the pigfish, digging with its muzzle for food in the sea bed, the swordfish, the very small and clever echini, the eel, born in mire, along with the whale, the crocodile, the oyster, the crab, the dolphin, the sirens, and the hippopotamus.

The miniaturist paints the fishes in very graceful proportions, identifying them by their exterior features and emphasizing any distinguishing marks peculiar to their heads. He is capable of achieving fine gradations of chocolate and brown, and of grayish whites on the belly. Among these miniatures are particularly fine the malignant swordfish (Fig. 1), with its huge beak that pierces ships and destroys them, the eels (Fig. 2), beautifully and realistically drawn, with soft, slippery bodies; the malicious crab (Fig. 3), crawling with a stone in its antennae to throw at its enemy, the oyster, whom it swallows; the good-natured dolphins (Fig. 4), the most rapid fishes of the sea, swimming from one end to the other, as if they had wings, loving man and never swimming single;³ sirens (Fig. 5), whose delightful singing causes the ruin of the inexperienced. "But, in reality," remarks the author, "these sirens were three venal women, who seduced innocent passengers and ruined them."⁴ The upper parts of the sirens' bodies, the oval shapes of the faces, and the movement of the hands and fingers playing on the instruments are all good. The cunning expression of their faces, increased by the bright red color of elegantly dressed hair, is very striking. Fishes, although an ordinary subject of early zoölogical books (bestiaries), are generally represented in a conventional and lifeless fashion, but the fishes of Brunetto's manuscript are without doubt, at least artistically, the finest zoölogical miniatures known to date, the only exception being the whale (Fig. 6), painted in the flat manner characteristic of the period.

To the fishes should be added the reptiles. In early zoölogical books and encyclopaedias this section is usually large, but apart from an introductory section on serpents Latini gives only eight specific descriptions. We illustrate two miniatures, the double-headed serpent, or amphisbaena (Fig. 7), and the dragon (Fig. 8). The reptiles in our book are alike, showing a two-legged, sometimes double-headed beast, of brown color with red spots, with very thin, tapering, sharp forms, a triangular, sharp, small head, huge, sharp ears, a very long red tongue, a long neck, long hair, and, invariably, very flashing, spiteful black eyes. Though the miniaturist does not individualize the reptiles, his creations are not devoid of originality, but are, no doubt, his own free interpretations of century-old prototypes. The chief interest in the interpretations is the lifelike expression attained through the painting technique. These reptiles are characteristic of our manuscript, and, like the fishes, they should take a definite place in the history of mediaeval zoölogical fantasy in Western European painting.

Among the more excellent examples of mediaeval painting may also be ranked the

2. Brunetto Latini, *Li tresors*, Paris, 1863, p. 182.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 189.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6



FIG. 7



FIG. 8

Leningrad, State Public Library: Details of Illumination from Thirteenth Century French Manuscript

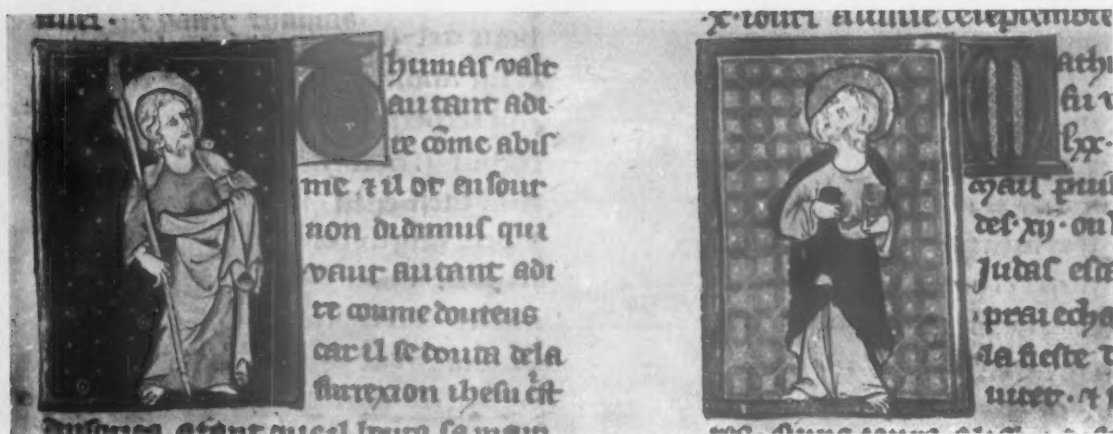


FIG. 9



FIG. 10

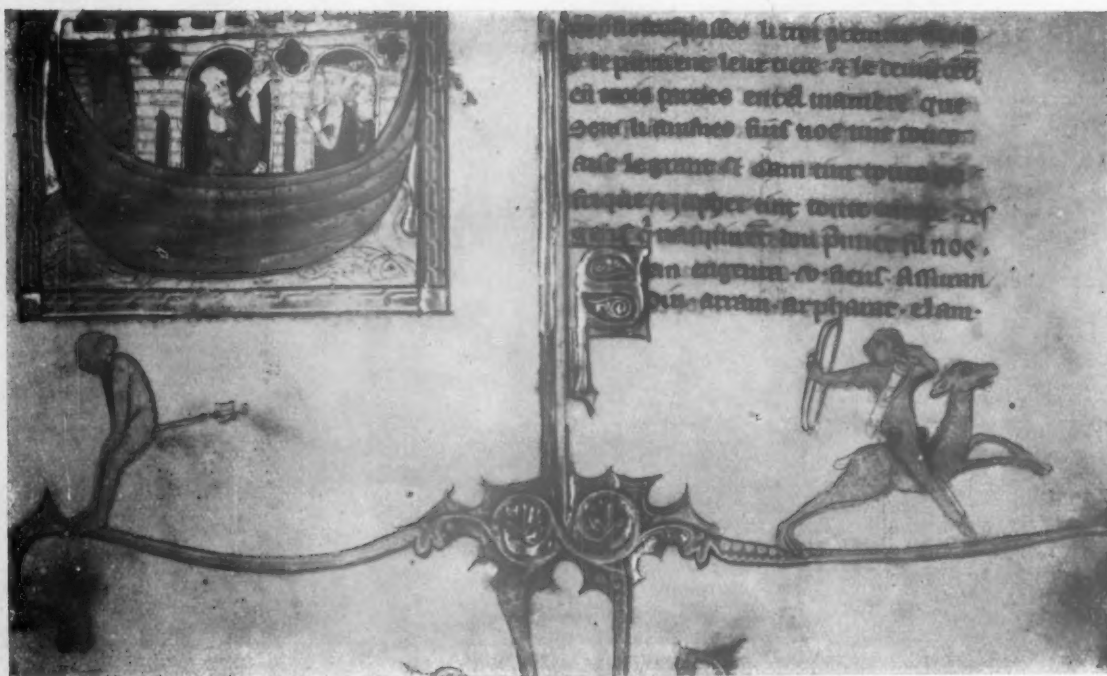


FIG. 11

Leningrad, State Public Library: Details of Illumination from Thirteenth Century French Manuscript

three miniatures of the creation of the world. They are composed, as these types usually were, in circles of red, blue, and green on a gold ground, with corresponding French inscriptions, *air, eau, terre*. Such is the harmony of this purely Leonardesque combination of colors, red, blue and green, against the brightness of the gold ground, such their freshness and softness that the absolute conformity of their composition is never felt to be standardization but real beauty in itself. They reflect softly on their gold grounds, much like precious stones in gold settings, enlivening the whole folio and subordinating all other motifs of the folio's decoration.

To what period and to what school can we attribute the miniatures of Brunetto Latini's manuscript? We should date them in the second half, or at the end of the thirteenth century, when the French Gothic style had passed beyond the florescence of the first half of the century, and its severity of style and variety of manifestations had degenerated into mere conventionality, standard shapes, and mannerisms. Louis IX's Ste.-Chapelle is a good example of this style. The trend is obvious in our manuscript, especially in the formation of the individual figures (Fig. 9). Conventionality characterizes the many-figured compositions, the treatment of the majority of the animals. Their two-dimensionality is characteristic of miniature painting at this period; also their coloring, with prevailing reds and blues, sometimes enriched by gray, pale green, brown, or gold. The fine gold grounds with architectural motifs of Gothic arches, still severe in design, are equally characteristic. Already we find colored grounds coming in to displace the golden ones. Henry Martin dates *filets bordures*, which are very characteristic of our manuscript, at the end of the thirteenth century.

To what school shall we attribute the manuscript? Unquestionably, to the French. The close relationship to the style of Ste.-Chapelle, the flawless workmanship, the precision in designing initials, fishes, and human figures, the impeccable taste, the ingenuity exemplified in the motifs—all these points will probably justify further attribution to one of the more distinguished of Parisian schools.

It is interesting to note that the *filets bordures* in our manuscript are similar to the analogical motifs in English manuscripts⁵ and that our manuscript abounds in representations of coats-of-arms, a decorative motif quite common in England and most unusual in France. The miniatures of our manuscript are certainly French, but the above-mentioned relationship to the English motifs attests, undoubtedly, the influence of English miniatures on French illuminators.

It is a noteworthy observation that Latini's encyclopaedia is unprecedented in its inclusion of secular events from ancient history, not to mention references to his contemporaries, Frederick II and Manfred. Their presence tends to confirm the supposition that our manuscript was produced by a secular workshop which sprang up in Paris in the vicinity of the University, towards the end of the thirteenth century, possibly because of the great demand for books.

This review of the miniatures gives some idea of the high artistic value of Brunetto Latini's *Li tresors*. But its entire value cannot be fully appreciated until we study the big grotesques, which, as has been previously stated, we shall approach from a sociological point of view.

5. Eric Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, London, 1926.

Li tresors is written in two columns, and on all margins the *filets bordures* intertwine with the initials, like decorative bands or ribbons. Usually, they terminate in a decorative curlicue or a bunch of black brier leaves. Beginning with the first folio of the book, there appears, on these bands or ribbons, in nests formed by the leaves, either a small figure dressed up as a hare, a viola in its hands, or a jumping figure in a striped dress, blowing a huge horn, or arbalest shooters, or hares and squirrels jumping or running away from shooters. In many of the folios, the contents of the grotesques are new and unexpected, often incomprehensible, but individual parts do have a definite connection. It may be that in the folios of our manuscript we find echoes of the vulgar theater of the mediaeval fair, or other amusements, especially the jugglers. Of the *dits*, *lais*, *chansons*, and *romances* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many of the authors were themselves jugglers and minstrels, and, as such, made references to their own professions. We are able to explain rather fully with the help of these literary documents the contents of our grotesques.

The French word *jongleur* (*jougleur*), is derived from the Latin *jocus*, play, or amusement. In Anglo-Saxon, it is a *gleeman*; in German, *Spielmann*. A juggler, then, is a man who gives us pleasure, or amuses us. The jugglers were representatives of a very large international family of musicians, singers, puppeteers, animal trainers, jesters, comedians, buffoons—a wandering, homeless group of people who depended largely on the generosity of those whom they amused for the necessities of life. The jugglers were both male and female, and composed a distinct social group who performed as actors, singers, musicians, and acrobats. All of them were relegated to the lowest level of mediaeval society, and led “a shameless life.” Their profession was considered a loose one, which led people into sin and temptation. The clergy condemned them in their sermons, and council regulations prohibited their admission to communion or to the cloisters. Secular law banned them and, as outside the law, they had to shave half their heads and beards, and wear short, parti-colored clothes and flat shoes.

Despite the fact that they were persecuted by the Church and ostracized by secular regulations, they remained favorites of the people and were sought-after guests at feasts, tournaments, weddings, funerals, in the market-place, and in the castle.

Beginning with the twelfth century, a distinction was made between musicians, singers, and poets, who often held privileged positions at the courts of the nobility, and wandering jugglers. In the Latini miniatures we find pictures of these lower-class, homeless wanderers, with their professions indicated.

“To affray silly people,” says one of the jugglers, they tied on red beards and painted their faces in a comical way.

Ainz veïssiez toz avant traire
 Ces jogleors et maint jou faire.
 Li uns dançoit des esperons:
 Bien s'en regarde les talons
 Qu'il ne rechoit; li autre saut
 A mont par mi un cercle aut;
 L'autre tregetoit sus mantel,
 Li uns regetoit le coutel,
 Li autres trait s'espee nue
 Et au tranchant des poinz s'apue,

Et tumbe desus sanz dotance;
Li autre ovent de nigramance.⁶

Maint jougléour pour leur mestier
Faire i vendrent de toutes pars....

.

Si ot de divers instrumens
De cors, de timbres, de tabours,
De divers qieus de singes, d'ours.⁷

Ceaz qui sevent les jambes encontremont jete[i]r,
Or sallent, or vielent, or braient et or crient.⁸

The romance *Flamenca*⁹ gives us a lively picture of a juggler's performance. We read here that for the wedding of *messire* Archambaut de Bourbon there came a large number of jugglers. After the feast the jugglers stood up and demonstrated their skill. Some played the harp, others the viola, this one a flute, that one a bagpipe, and still others lutes. Here also were puppeteers, jesters, acrobats. Anyone who had a new viola melody, a song, or a tale did his best to be heard. All this, one can well imagine, made a terrible noise in the hall. The dancing followed. Two hundred jugglers, all *virtuosi* of the viola, placed themselves in pairs on benches, and struck up airs to which they danced.

Upon examining the miniatures of Brunetto Latini's book, we see in one of the first folios the figure of a trumpeter. He is dressed in a short, two-colored dress, half red, half blue, his head is shaved, he is kneeling, holding his heels and blowing a huge trumpet (Fig. 10). Evidently, it is the beginning of a juggler's performance, as all solemn meetings and spectacles in the Middle Ages notoriously began with the heralds' blare of trumpets. Joinville writes in his *Mémoires*,¹⁰ in the account of *grant Hermenie*, of three jugglers on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, who had trumpets which they played. Our trumpeter is smooth shaven; his dress is striped and short; and it is evident that he is grimacing at the public and kicking his legs. Close by him may be seen one of his partners, a very gay and graceful figure, dressed up as a hare, with a viola in his hands. On the same folio, underneath, there are two masqueraders in beasts' skins (Fig. 11). Jugglers wore these disguises to amuse the people. In mediaeval miniatures the heads of monstrous beasts and birds much more commonly appear as masks than do the skins of beasts. In our book, however, we have only the latter kind. We see these masqueraders taking part in hunting or archery; and they remind us of modern clowns by their tricks and gestures.

An ill-favored, hunchbacked juggler is on the curve of one decoration (Fig. 12), as if on a rope, making a peculiar gesture with his hands and holding in his mouth a big flat object resembling a framed mirror. The expression of his face at this moment is strained; his head is thrown back; doubtless it is shaved, as is also his chin, because both are covered with a tight fitting headdress. He wears a short, carelessly girdled dress and flat shoes. We see a juggler in his characteristic pose, performing a juggler's trick, we assume, to the accompaniment of music, while a female musician, perhaps

6. Quoted by Emile Freymond in *Jongleurs und Menestrels*, Halle a/S., 1883, p. 20.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

9. C. V. Langlois, *Flamenca* in *La société française au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1904, p. 133.

10. Jean, sire de Joinville, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1836, p. 281.

his partner, stands not far from him on another curve of the decoration, attired in a long modest gown, her hair carefully dressed. She plays simultaneously a tambourine and a flute. We read often in mediaeval romances about such excellent juggler-musicians, and here we have an example.

The figure of a shaved, hunchbacked juggler is seen again in the following folio (Fig. 13). Balancing himself cautiously on a decorative coil, he performs with utmost confidence.

Li autres trait s'espee nue
Et au tranchant des poinz s'apue,¹¹

says a juggler in the *Joufrois* romance. But another trick is here before us, the exact description of which occurs in an early English Rule of Nuns printed by the Camden Society, which says of the wrathful man: "he skirmishes before the devil with knives, and he is his knife-tosser, and plays with swords, and balances them upon his tongue by the sharp point."¹² Another reference to sword tricks tells us: "In a Saxon manuscript.... we see a gleeman, who is throwing up and catching knives and balls, a common performance of the later Norman juggleours...."¹³ One of the jugglers represented in our miniatures (Fig. 14) is in the act of leaping, his heels caught in his hands, and as he makes his leap, a sheaf of swords spring into a nearby vase. Sword play was very popular in the Middle Ages and jugglers mention it frequently (cf. also Fig. 15).

We see in one of the next miniatures (Fig. 16) a juggler with a hand organ, called a dulcimer, the keys of which he touches lightly, while on the next decorative curlicue a female juggler performs a difficult trick, apparently to the accompaniment of his music. Joinville describes some difficult turns that serve to give us a good idea of the skill of mediaeval jugglers: "Ils fesaient trois merveilleux sauts.... et deux tournaient les têtes arrières et l'aisné aussi quant il en li fesait tourner de la tête devant, il se seignait car il avait paour qu'il ne se brisait le col en tourner."¹⁴

There is a tall, thin woman in a gold brocade gown and a rich headdress on the decorative curve in Figure 17. Her pose and gestures suggest a dance. This is probably the case, because an old juggler plays a bagpipe on the next curve. His figure is artistically painted. It is interesting to note that the bagpipe is Scottish in type, probably imported into France from England, and often seen in English miniatures. Among French miniatures, we meet it for the first time in Latini's encyclopaedia.

The next miniature is less comprehensible (Fig. 18). It represents a bush behind which is seated a masquerader enthusiastically playing the flute. His legs are stretched out before him and he is pulling with his free hand at a thin rope, ending in a noose, over which some birds are flying. Other birds are perched on the next bush. The miniature shows us a fowler, perhaps a bird imitator. "Quand ils encommencaient a corner, vous deissiez que ce sont les voix des cygnes, qui se partent de l'etang et fesaient les plus douces mélodies et les plus gracieuses que c'était merveille de les oir."¹⁵

We have another reference to the juggler as a perfect imitator of birds' songs. *Karl Meinet*, a poem about Charlemagne, tells of a great feast given by him to which

11. Freymond, *loc. cit.*

12. Thomas Wright, *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England*, London, 1862, pp. 175-6.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

14. Joinville, *loc. cit.*

15. *Ibid.*



FIG. 12

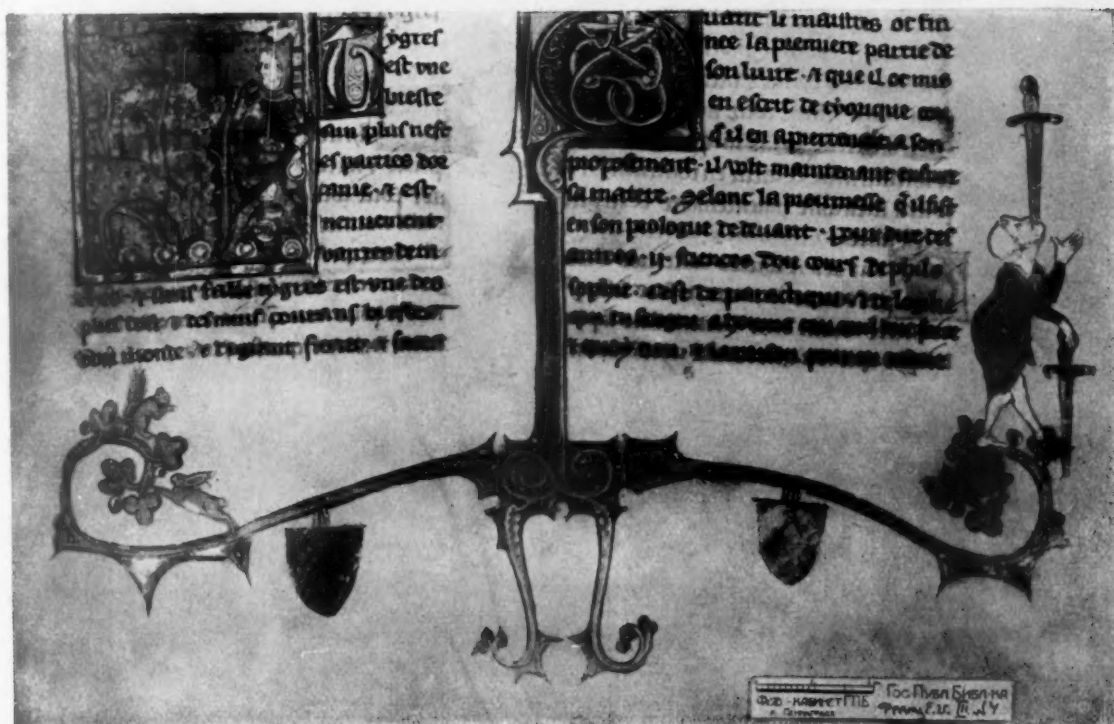


FIG. 13

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FIG. 14

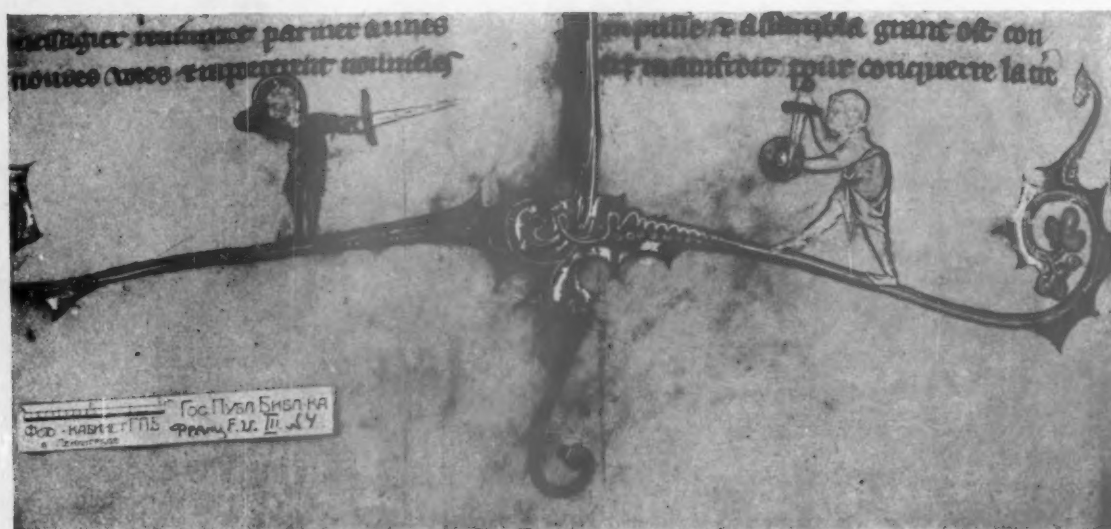


FIG. 15



FIG. 16

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came a multitude of guests. There were young and old, men and women, princes and barons, knights and citizens—all attired in velvet and furs. There were present also more than four hundred jugglers, "whom we should call *Spielmänner*." Some of them sang of old times and battles, some of love, one blew a horn, another played the harp, one a viola, some jumped with joy, one arranged a squabble between a goat and a she-goat, and himself leaped on a little ass. At the end appeared the most talented artists, the imitators of birds' songs, like the nightingale's trill, or the peacock's cry.

Ouch quamen dar me dan vere
Hundert mynistrere
De wir nennen speleman,
Ind van wapen spreken kan.
Sulche konden singen
Van ouenturen ind dingen,
De geschagen in alden iaren.
Sulche ouch da waren,
De van mynnen ind leue
Sprachen sunder breue,
Sulche, de de vedelen sware
Daden luden offenbare,
Sulche, de wael dat horn bleys,
Sulche gebeirde als eyn reis,
Sulche floreden cleyne
Mit holtze ind mit beyne,
Sulche blesen mutet
Wael vp dem musett,
Sulche harpen ind gygen,
Den man gerne mochte swygen,
Sulche cum salterio
Truriche hertzen machen vro,
Sulche, de van zencolen
Zo Parys helden scholen,
Sulche meyster gude

Koechelden vnder dem hoede,
Sulche konden dryuen
Vmb val zo schiben,
Sulche wael de becken
Entfeyngen mit den stecken,
Sulche tumelden ind sprungen
Sulche, de vele waele sungem,
Sulche, as sy is begerden,
De bucke mit den perden
Daden sy samen stryden
Ind merkatzen ryden,
Sulche, de ouch konden
Dantzen mit den hunden,
Sulche, de ouch steyne
Kuweden harde cleyne,
Sulche ouch, de sich des vermas,
Dat hey wael vur as
Ind vsser dem munde bleis.
Ouch quam da sulch reis,
De kunde harde waele
Schallen as de nachtegale
Ind ouch sunderlingen
Nach anderen vogelen singen.
Sulche pyffen, als de re,
Sulch, as der pawe schre.¹⁶

Most likely, it is the *sunderlingen* that are represented in our manuscript. We have here two episodes, one the imitation of birds' singing, the other the catching of a bird in the noose, with the help of the same singing.

A hunting scene is represented in the next miniature (Fig. 19). A hound chases a boar; a riding juggler, armed with quiver and arrows, is behind them. He wears a blue and red dress and a hood to match.

Its artistic form, vivacity of movement, and excellence of painting make this miniature one of the best in this group. Hunting does not seem to be a subject readily adaptable to a juggler's performance because of the space it would require. But in the romance *Galerent*, in a description of the preparations for the wedding of the hero, to which came a group of jugglers, we read,

Li uns sert d'un, li autres d'el,
Qui savent les mestiers divers.
Li un y font combatre vers,
Li autre y font beter ces ours
A chiens qui les suivent a cours,
Cil y tient lyon ou lieupart [sic].¹⁷

16. Adelbert van Keller, *Karl Meinel*, Stuttgart, 1858, pp. 439-440, A 287, lines 11-60.

17. Anatole Boucherie, *Le roman de Galerent*, Montpellier and Paris, 1888, p. 177, lines 6809 ff.

These last lines show that hunting scenes were part of the juggler's program. In our book we have two more hunting scenes, a very fine one where a juggler is firing an arbalest at a running hare, and another, a deer hunt.

We see in the next miniature (Fig. 20) an exceptionally well executed jesters' tournament. Two performers, armed with shields and lances, fight in beasts' furs. The jugglers tell us nothing about their skill in fighting, but in the tournaments, it is only natural that these imitations belonged to the program of people's amusements. Among the various interpretations in our book is one in which (Fig. 21) two centaurs, one with a woman's head, the other with a man's, are galloping towards each other, armed with shields and lances. The fancifulness of these images, their conventional character, and the flat painting technique render this tournament somewhat enigmatical. However, we seem to have a clarification of it in a miniature of the lost *Hortus deliciarum* of Herrad von Landsberg. It illustrates a puppet tournament of two knights on foot. Two thin ropes are stretched from them to two jugglers—one standing on each side of the table—who with the help of the ropes direct the movement of the puppet knights. In the Herrad von Landsberg miniature, the technique and the practice of the puppet performance is that of the Middle Ages. Jugglers are always boasting of their skill as puppeteers: "I know a puppet show," "we play puppets," "he knows birds' singing and puppets." In *Flamenca* the puppet show is known as a *juec de bavastel*. By *bavastel* philologists understand, "puppets, puppet shows," the origin of which is very ancient. Such a puppet show of a jester's tournament is represented in our miniature. Here is explained the fancifulness of the images, their conventional character, the flat painting: the fantastic centaurs are puppets, carved figures. Technical accessories are not shown. The puppeteers probably concealed them as detracting from the effect of illusion and finesse. Jugglers persist in their mention of the *bavasteau* show as something very valuable and amusing. Our manuscript has other splendid miniatures representing *bavasteaux*, and an arbalest shooting, performed by similar centaurs. On the margins of our book, one often sees real arbalest shooting jugglers. The figure is invariably the familiar tense and vivid, hunchbacked juggler, who is just shooting an arrow from a huge arbalest. A small, fantastic beast usually serves as a target, the arrow comically catching his red tongue, or his eye.

Il est de tout bons menesterieux.
 Il set peschier, il set chacier,
 Il set trop bien genz solacier,
 Il set chançons, sonnez et fables,
 Il set d'eschez, il set des tables,
 Il set d'abalestre et d'airon.¹⁸

It is well known that target shooting was one of the most popular amusements in the Middle Ages. Like tournaments, it had to find its place in the jugglers' programs and we meet references to it in our miniatures.

Beginning with the first folios of the book it is common to find active hares and squirrels, either jumping on the brier bush leaves, nestling there, or running away from hunters. Squirrels and hares are decorative motifs fairly frequent in English

18. Freymond, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

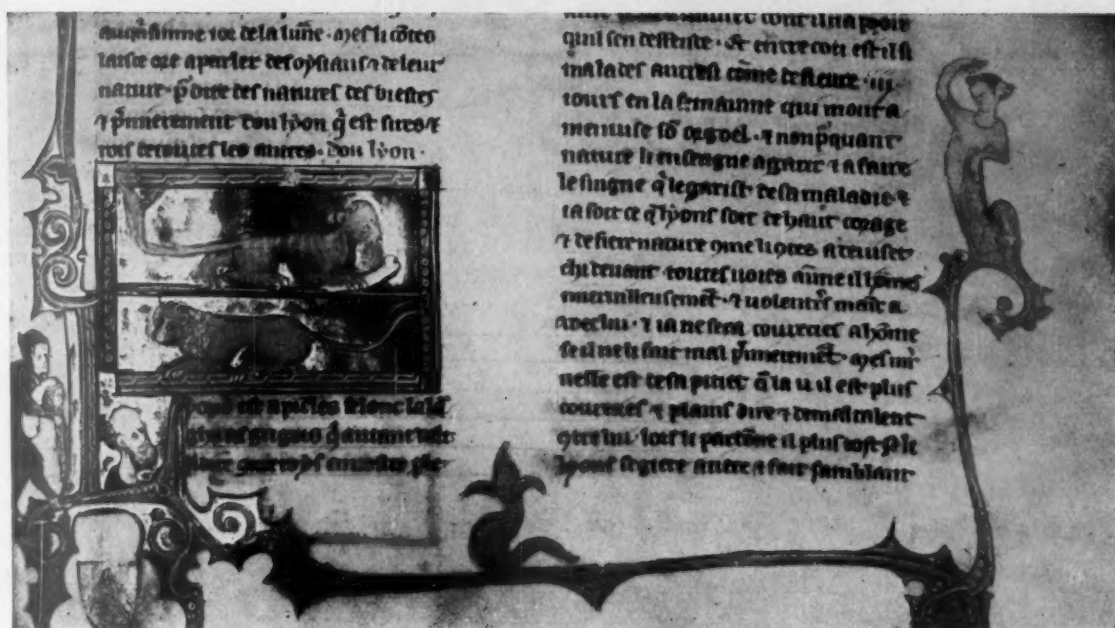


FIG. 17

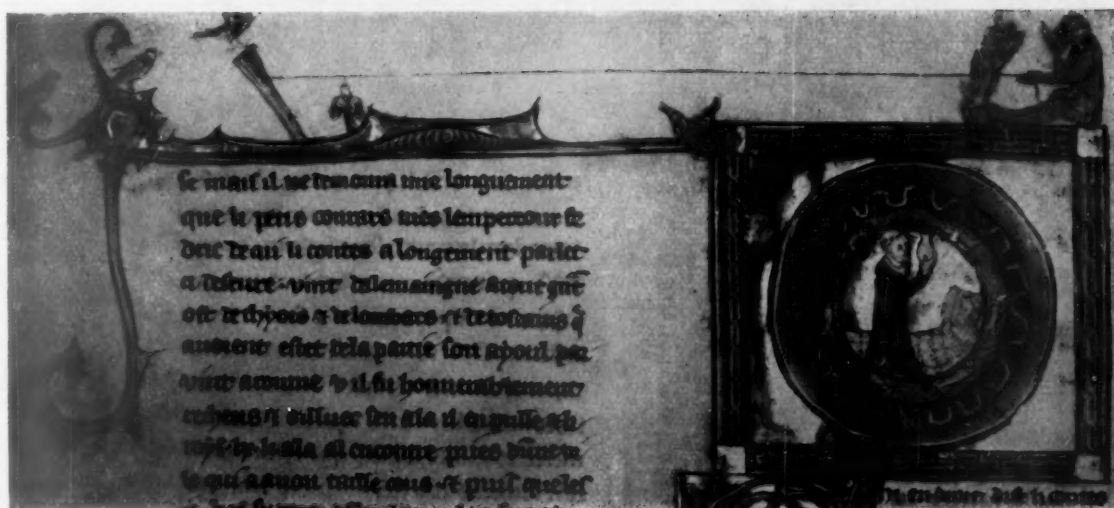


FIG. 18

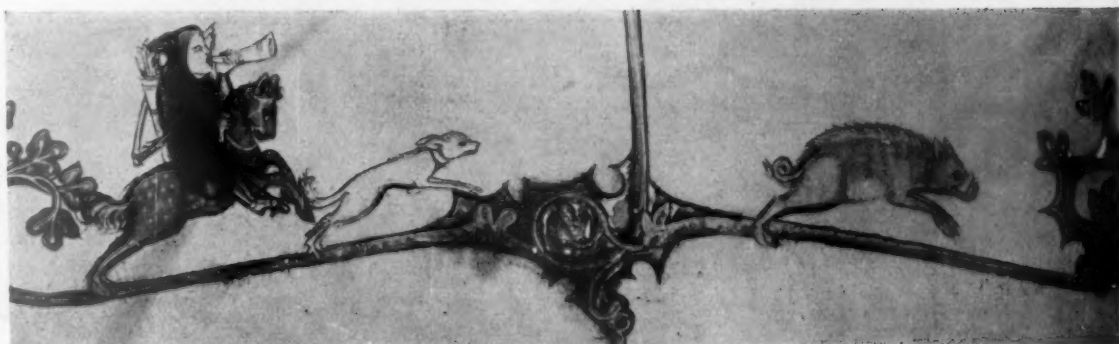


FIG. 19

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FIG. 20

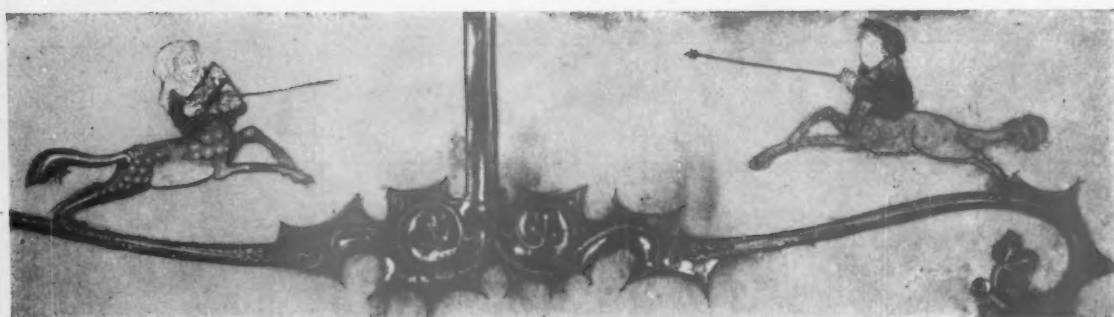


FIG. 21

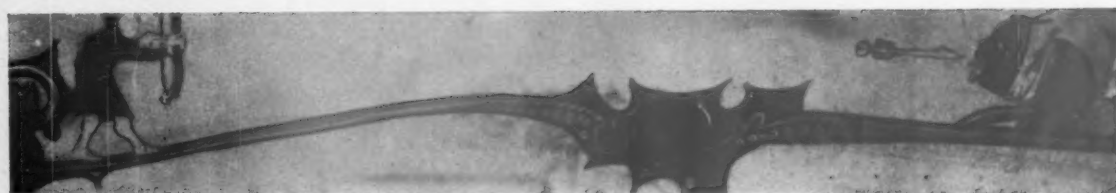


FIG. 22



FIG. 23



FIG. 24

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miniatures of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But in our book their purpose is not simply decorative, nor their appearance purely casual. Beasts were necessary members of jugglers' companies and were trained by them for the amusement of the people. In the menagerie of the performing troupe were to be found bears, goats, horses, dogs, monkeys, boars, and sometimes even lions and leopards. The hares and squirrels in our book are just such members of the jugglers' menagerie (Fig. 13) and play a conspicuous part in the subject matter of the grotesques. The hare-hunting scenes, performed by jugglers, as well as the hare disguise and presence of hares in different juggler's tricks, confirm our supposition. For a comprehension of Brunetto Latini's book, mediaeval literature affords such abundant material that we are able to study each miniature as a separate item in the juggler's repertory. Even where the literary parallels are wanting, the miniatures doubtless refer to the cycle of the juggler's skill.

Scattered through our book on the curls of the decoration are scenes of jugglers' performances with fantastic, sometimes pretty, sometimes monstrous figures. There is a human-headed quadruped, wearing a crown or a colored bonnet, or a wormlike creature with a head of a young man with his curls thrown back. Sometimes it is a snail with a handsome, finely shaped, small head, but most frequently it is a small animal with an oval-shaped body, which has a certain likeness to *matreshki* (the Russian wooden dolls). The heads of these creatures are human and their faces brightly painted. A most remarkable peculiarity about them is that, regardless of their shape or the frailness of the decorative curlicue upon which they stand, they never form an integral part of the decoration, but invariably stand solidly on a short, broad leg, the curves of their bodies, sometimes their bushy tails, serving as supports. There are about one hundred twenty such figures. In the several attitudes in which we find them, they stand pensively, or seem to go to meet each other, or strain their wormlike bodies, or serve as targets (Fig. 22). In the last rôle they fulfill their most important function.

The flat painting technique of some of these puppets leads us to suspect that some were flat forms and others treated in almost full relief. In cases where puppets, *i. e.*, *bavasteaux*, are cut "in the round," or the body is oval-shaped, their heads are draped with a large hood, curls, or a soft material, probably for the purpose of disguising artificial joinings and preserving the illusion of realism.

The fantastic character of these figures, the recurrence of types, the consistence of their plastic treatment, the limited postures, and the repeated use of them as dummy targets, convinces us that they are not simply decorative, as one might be led to believe at first, but that they are all the *bavasteaux* and *bavastels* to which the jugglers refer so often in their own writings. When not engaged in shooting, jousting, or serving as targets, these little creatures await their turns as active members of the show, the *juec des bavastels*, in which fantasy is interspersed with reality, an invention where the creative power of the master showman is, as we have seen, an echo and an inspiration of much of the literary work of the day.

In order to awaken the interest of the spectator, to avoid monotony, and to meet the competition of other showmen, a juggler had to possess a sense of humor, perceive things readily, be prepared to make light and fanciful comment on what

he observed, and, in general, give evidence of that discrimination in taste inherent to the French.

We not only believe that in the miniatures of Brunetto Latini's book we have these wooden puppets of the French mediaeval jugglers, but also that they are inseparable from the big grotesques, as part of the jugglers' repertory.

A picture almost too scandalous and tempting for so serious a book, a male and a female juggler kissing, is found on folio seven (Fig. 23). He is shaved and wears a big, striped, sharp-pointed nightcap; she wears a splendid headdress, characteristic of female jugglers. Only the heads are distinguished, the bodies being reduced to decoration. The occurrence of the miniature is by no means accidental. It was planned deliberately and has no parallel in the miniatures of the thirteenth century. It represents a more or less frivolous theme, in scenes principally of very piquant love situations, enacted by the same jugglers. This whole cycle seems to end with the figure of Punch himself. He has huge ears and wears a pointed nightcap. Laughing and jumping, he goes in and out of the initials. The jolly juggler, who resembles a clown, and the dancing bear are unusual motifs for initials (Fig. 24), and the association of these with the theme of the big grotesques is a point in favor of the argument that they belong to the same series as the miniatures. Thus, all these illuminations represent the unbroken chain of a jugglers' performance, which opened with the announcement by a juggler-trumpeter that the entertainment was about to begin, and ended with the entrance of the comic figure of Punch himself. With this cheerful mediaeval personality ends the cycle of the big grotesques of our book. In the second part there are no such designs.

Figures out of the remote past rise before us in the big grotesques of Latini's book. The *dits*, *lais*, *fabliaux*, songs, and romances tell us about jugglers. They themselves tell of the variety of their profession, but in the miniatures this abstract literary material takes on concrete expression. They are an illustration of the sociological value of art. Miniatures of jugglers become frequent in English books by the end of the thirteenth century. But, generally speaking, these are single figures of masked arbalest shooters and animals. An exception occurs in the Peterborough Psalter where, in the rich decoration of one folio, is a conglomeration of numerous birds, small animals, bagpipers, stilt walkers, and a hunting scene.¹⁹ In French books of the thirteenth century only in the *Poésies* of Robert de Blois (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS. 5201) do we find related motifs, jugglers fighting with swords, pikes, or lances; birds, dogs, and squirrels.²⁰ A study of the literature of the period is our only source for an understanding of their meaning. The miniatures of the Peterborough Psalter and of the *Poésies* serve as very good supplementary examples of the big grotesques of Latini's book. All together they give a very complete picture of the merriment at popular entertainments and of noisy jugglers' stages or show-booths, similar to the description in the poem, *Karl Meinet*, or that of the romance *Flamenca*.

The miniatures of Brunetto Latini's manuscript seem to represent a whole program, excelling others in fullness and variety. The student has before him a realistic nar-

19. Millar, *op. cit.*, pls. 80, 86, 100.

20. Henry Martin, *La miniature du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, Paris and Brussels, 1923, fig. XXIX.

ration of the juggler's life, not at all idealized. The juggler's low social position is conveyed by painting him with a shaved head; and any physical deformities, which may have influenced his choice of profession, are carefully recorded. The miniatures point out the importance of music at jugglers' performances and depict all stage property, instruments, costumes, etc. They provide for our study likenesses of female jugglers, musicians, dancers—representations not found in other manuscripts of the thirteenth century. A clear picture is also given of mediaeval professionals, who might be compared, without undue exaggeration, to our modern circus clowns, acrobats, and tight-rope walkers. Attired in a jester's costume and high cap, with a ludicrously painted face, the modern clown performs for his public the same repertory of jugglers' tricks, such as the balancing act and the demonstration of trained dogs. Like his happy mediaeval colleague, with his agility and funny remarks he aims to amuse the crowd.

As mentioned earlier in our article, the secular nature of the miniatures leads us to suppose that Latini's *Li tresors* is the product of a secular workshop. The big grotesques strengthen this supposition. It must be remembered that however impious a painter might have been, he would hardly be so bold as to paint jugglers, and especially the female jugglers, condemned by the Church, in a book of religious intent. Only a secular workshop would do such a thing. Moreover, the portrayal of jugglers shows the tendencies and views of the time. At the end of the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century, though still banned, the jugglers were becoming more numerous and more indispensable companions for both intellectual and gay pastimes in the towns, as well as the castles. At this period they organized their own corporation in Paris. This participation of the juggler in everyday society as one of its more clever and appreciated members is documented in the folios of Latini's encyclopaedia. The superiority of some of the workmanship in the big grotesques alone, with their quasi-Renaissance realism and fine qualities, and the mastery of subject matter, strengthens the belief that only the head of the secular workshop of a town could have produced it. New secular motifs had now begun to interest miniature painters, and one of these motifs was the juggler.

THE ANNUNCIATION OF PETRUS CRISTUS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM AND THE PROBLEM OF HUBERT VAN EYCK

By HERMANN BEENKEN

THE article by Erwin Panofsky, *The Friedsam Annunciation and the Problem of the Ghent Altarpiece*, which appeared in the December, 1935, issue of *The Art Bulletin*, constrains me to make a reply. In the course of his exposition, Panofsky expresses the belief that he is able to trace to a "fundamental error" the conclusions regarding the van Eyck problem that I set forth at length in the *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* and in the *Burlington Magazine*.¹ Among other things he writes: "Thus, the foundations of what Beenken claims to be the ultimate solution of the problem of Jan and Hubert fall to the ground." The counterproof attempted by Panofsky, however, has not succeeded, as I intend to show. It miscarries as a consequence of its self-contradiction. Furthermore, the theories developed in the article mentioned are confusing to such an extent, that for the sake of scientific clarity it becomes a duty to set forth their inconsistency.

Confusion cannot fail to result if the border line between the activity of intellectual-speculative construction of theories, on the one hand, and that of connoisseurship founded on the trained eye, on the other, is so completely disregarded as has been done by Panofsky. There are in the history of art certain facts which were first observed and made part of our fixed scientific possession by connoisseurs; such knowledge must under no circumstances be scuttled again by any theoretical speculation whatsoever. Speculative hypothesis has its place when the very basis of our knowledge is problematical, so that a merely empirical connoisseurship would necessarily be lacking in dependability. Now, as there is an unbridled type of connoisseurship, where without any demonstrable foundations ascription is linked to ascription, so also there exists a tendency toward the unbridled piling up of theories. Such ideas and hypotheses have no roots in the firm soil of the observation of facts and of factual experience; they cannot be said to grow, but rather to pullulate in exuberance, especially when they do not even fit together constructively among themselves.

The Annunciation in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 1), which forms the starting point of Panofsky's article, is not known to me in the original. But as prominent a connoisseur as M. J. Friedländer knows it intimately, and he has no doubts as to Petrus Cristus' being the originator. In fact, a good photograph discloses nothing that would militate against such an ascription. Quite on the contrary, the figures in

1. *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Genter Altars, Hubert und Jan van Eyck*, in the *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933-1934, pp. 176 ff.; *The Ghent van Eyck Re-examined*, in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1933,

pp. 64 ff. My article *Der Stand des Hubert van Eyck Problems, Fragen um den Genter Altar*, in *Oud Holland*, 1936, pp. 7 ff., and Panofsky's article appeared simultaneously.



FIG. 1—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Annunciation by Petrus Cristus*



FIG. 2—*Allenburg, Lindenau Museum: Annunciation by Barnaba da Modena*

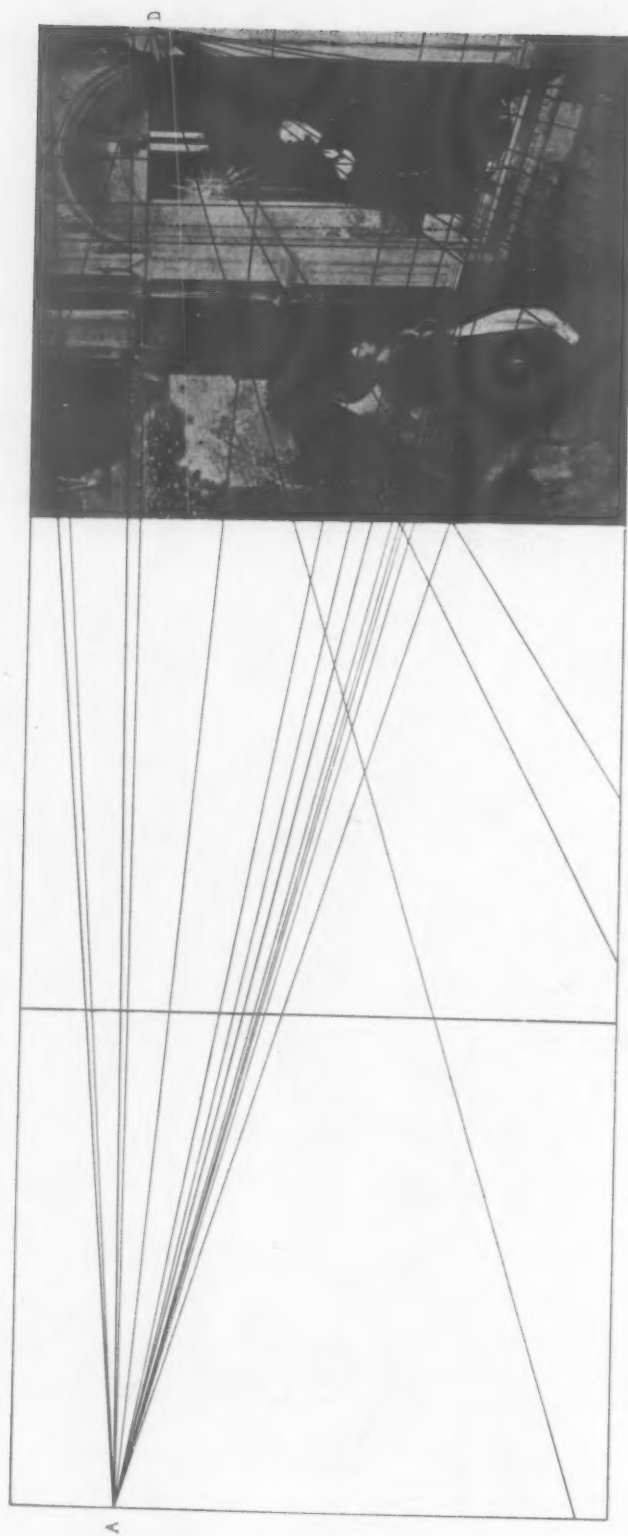


FIG. 3—*Diagram of Perspective Construction of Fig. 1*

the picture show, as compared with creations by Jan van Eyck, exactly the type of reduction and simplification that elsewhere characterize the younger painter. Let us take, for instance, those plain, almost rectilinear contours within which especially the form of the Virgin bulks mightily in spite of its actual small size; let us compare the outlines of the back, *e. g.*, with those of the female figures in the Nativity of the Goldman Collection in New York. The heads of the Virgins in the two pictures also show points of surprising agreement, particularly when confronted with the heads of Madonnas by Jan van Eyck, which, though related in type, are carried out in a very different fashion (such as in the little Dresden altarpiece and in the Madonna of the Fountain at Antwerp).

To be sure, Panofsky's arguments take a different tack. According to him, the picture does not fit into the development of Petrus Cristus. It is too "Eyckian" to be an early creation by the master, too "archaic" to be a late one. But is it methodically admissible to try to account for these "Eyckian" and "archaic" qualities in terms only of the personal development of the artist, without inquiring whether or not there might be quite other reasons for them, and for the demonstrably primitive iconographic type of the work?

Now in one respect the picture in the Metropolitan Museum is so little archaic that the assumption of possible authorship by the van Eyck brothers may be excluded with certainty. For the representation of architecture shows an exact construction of both vanishing points, and that for all orthogonal lines of the space, even though not lying in the same plane. But such a construction, as we know thanks to G. I. Kern,² cannot be proved to have been used in the painting of the Netherlands earlier than in the work of Petrus Cristus. Panofsky himself says in note 14 to his article: "It is not by accident that Petrus Cristus was the first Northern painter who made all the vanishing lines of a three-dimensional unit meet in one mathematical point." The fact that this innovation can be demonstrated in the New York picture, has unfortunately escaped his attention,³ for otherwise he would have dismissed the ascription to Hubert van Eyck from the start. Panofsky only emphasizes the "archaic overcomplication and audacity," with which the building was set slantwise into the space, without noticing that this very arrangement placed the artist before a task that, without exact knowledge of perspective convergence, he could never have mastered as he did. Precisely the van Eycks, in whose pictures only instinctive approximations to "correct" construction are ever met with, would without doubt have been incapable of this—not artistic, but mathematical—accomplishment. How much the younger master was bent upon showing off his new knowledge may be gathered from the lettering on the threshold which is also disposed according to the converging spatial axes.⁴

2. *Die Grundzüge der perspektivischen Darstellung in der Kunst der Gebrüder van Eyck und ihrer Schule*, 1907; cf. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1912, p. 58.

3. Panofsky's objection that the lines of the tile floor and windows inside do not agree with the perspective as a whole is not borne out by the photograph. Slight deviations which may exist in the original but which the photograph does not reveal would, granting their presence, be of no consequence in view of the accuracy of the perspective in general.

4. The construction of the picture (Fig. 3) is as follows:

The vanishing point D of the lines converging toward the right lies at the intersection of the line of the door lintel with the picture's edge; the vanishing point A of the lines converging toward the left lies on the same horizontal line of the door lintel at a point twice the width of the picture beyond the left edge.

Thus, even from the point of view of theory, the ground seems to be swept out from under Panofsky's ascription. As far as the iconographic elucidations of his article are concerned, they too, unfortunately, are mostly of such a kind that, taken by themselves, they could well shake any confidence in the dependability of his arguments.

Panofsky thinks that in the Mérode altarpiece of the Master of Flémalle, we meet a new "realistic" interpretation of the Annunciation theme, both figures of which are represented in a unified "bourgeois" interior, the *thalamus virginis*, then that for the Ghent Altarpiece Jan van Eyck appropriated (as he supposes Tolnai⁵ to have shown) this conception of the Annunciation which Panofsky assumes to have first occurred in the North and at that time. Unfortunately, he overlooks the fact that the Annunciation in a bourgeois interior already is met with in Italian Trecento painting and that its roots may even be traced as far back as the studio of the youthful Giotto, whence derived the important fresco in the right transept of the Lower Church at Assisi.⁶ Approximately such a very low, relatively shallow chamber as that of the Ghent Annunciation, with its almost complete lack of furniture, may be seen already in a little, hitherto unpublished, predella picture by Barnaba da Modena (Fig. 2);⁷ and as the Ghent form of the interior is much closer to this Italian prototype than to that of the Mérode altarpiece, it is naturally inadmissible to have the first derive from the last, i. e., Jan van Eyck from the Master of Flémalle.⁸ Let us present two more examples of the Annunciation type that is supposed to have been created by the Netherlanders: one Sienese, Barna's fresco in the Collegiata at S. Gimignano; one Florentine, the little scene on the altarpiece by Giovanni da Milano in the museum of the Palazzo Venezia in Rome (Figs. 4 and 5).

Now the Metropolitan Museum picture does not really show this type of the Annunciation, which in truth, according to origin, is not Flemish, but Italian; for Mary alone stands in an interior, and more exactly at its door, while the angel greets her from the outside. Panofsky traces this arrangement back to Byzantine art, although there Mary almost always appears not in the building but in front of it, that is to say, outdoors together with the angel. He seems to me likely to have the origins here wrong again, for there is much in favor of assuming that Western and Northern, rather than Eastern and Southern, schools of art tended toward a real contrast between outdoors and indoors at an earlier period, and more frequently. G. Millet's investigation⁹ cited by Panofsky does not reproduce a single example showing Mary "in the temple" the way we may find her in the ivories of the Metz and other Northern schools from the middle of the ninth century on,¹⁰

5. *Zur Herkunft des Stils der van Eyck*, in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1932, pp. 320 ff.

6. B. Kleinschmidt, *Die Wandmalereien der Basilika S. Francesco in Assisi*, 1930, fig. 156.

7. The attribution of this picture (no. 149) in the Lindenau Museum, Altenburg, to Barnaba is my own. For the figures compare the medallions of the Annunciation of his large Madonna in the Museo Civico, Pisa; for the interior compare the Pentecost (no. 1437) in the National Gallery, London; illustrations in van Marle, IV, figs. 193, 195.

8. My further objections to Tolnai's thesis are given in the *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933-1934, p. 215, note 39; Panofsky's doubts, in note 22 of his article.

9. *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile...*, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 109, Paris, 1916, p. 67.

10. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen...*, Berlin, 1926, I, 72, 75, 95g; II, 52, 62, 63, 140 etc.

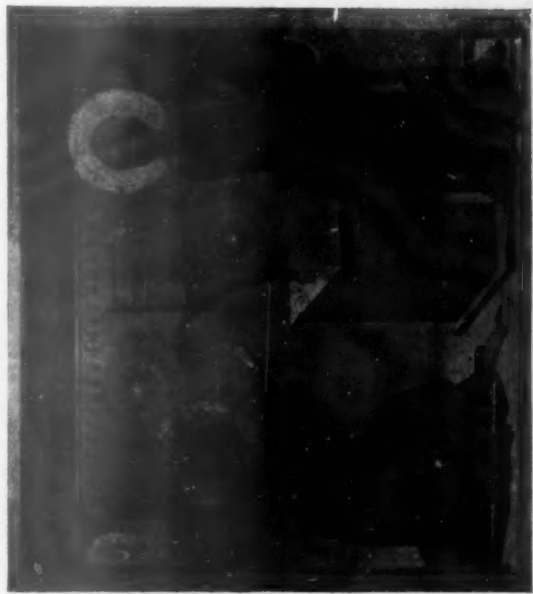


FIG. 4—Rome, Palazzo Venezia: *Annunciation*
by Giovanni da Milano

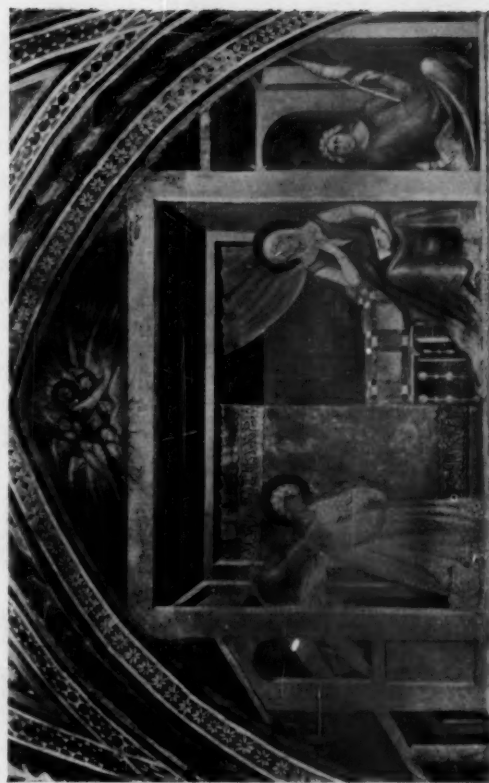


FIG. 5—S. Gimignano, Collegiata: *Annunciation*
by Barna da Siena and Workshop



FIG. 6—Ghent, St. Bavo: *Exterior of Ghent Altarpiece*
by Jan van Eyck

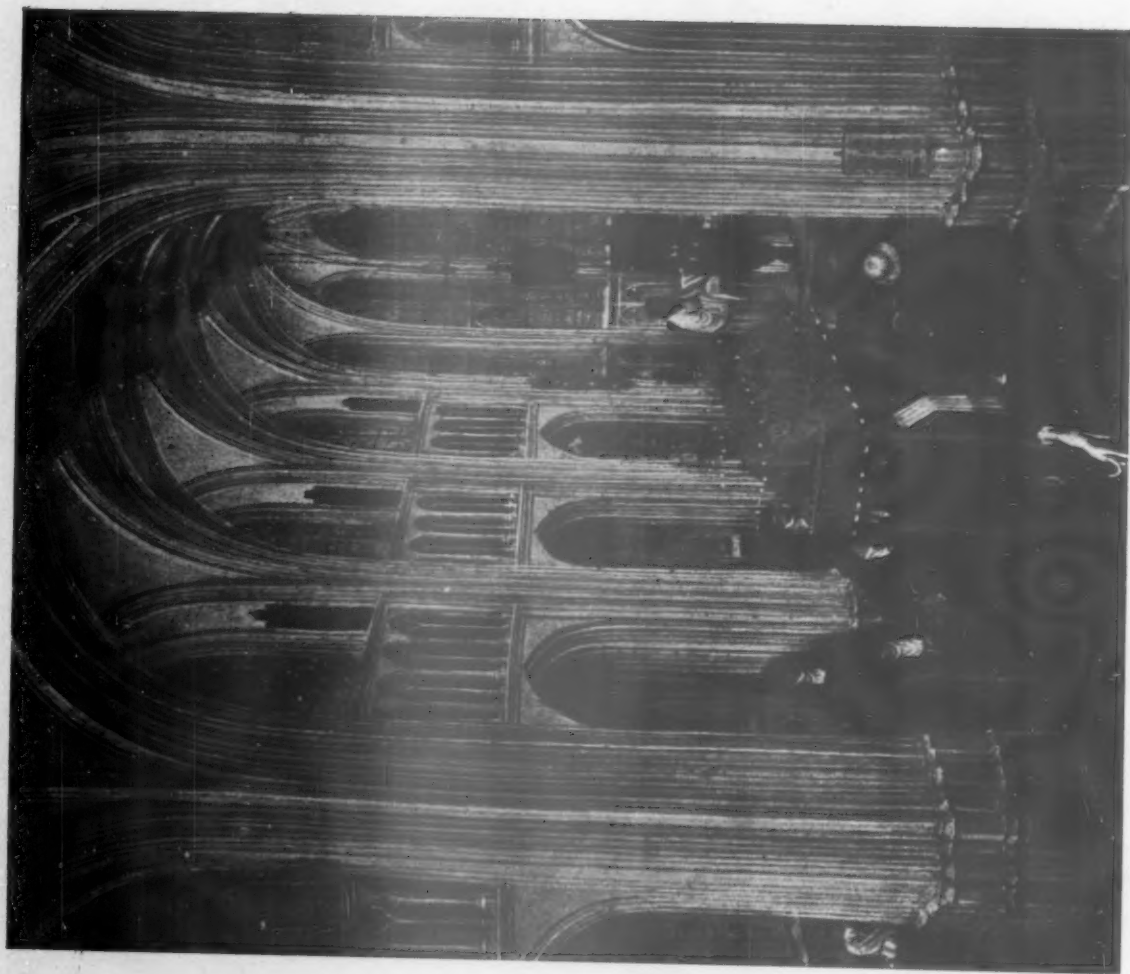


FIG. 7—*Milan, Trivulzio Collection: Office of the Dead*
by Hubert van Eyck



FIG. 8—*Berlin, Deutsches Museum: Madonna*
in a Church by Jan van Eyck

and as occasionally she can be seen in the Romanesque sculpture and painting of France and Germany.¹¹ True, the building shown usually in slanting spatial arrangement in the Byzantine representations is almost always reduced in the North to a mere columnar bay or an arcade; Mary came to be placed within the arcade perhaps only through the fact that an Eastern representation showing her in front of such a building had become incomprehensible through reduction (cf. the Edgmiadzin Gospel, or later¹²). That afterwards, in Italian Dugento painting, Mary in front of the building and Mary within the arcade occur concurrently may be taken to correspond to the diversity of Eastern and Western tendencies, a diversity otherwise traceable then and fused into a true synthesis only in fourteenth century painting.

There can naturally be no way of contesting the priority of such a synthesis in Southern Trecento painting and, consequently, the Italian influence in those Western European representations of the Annunciation which Panofsky has grouped around the Metropolitan Museum picture. In many of these scenes, however, there is something else more significant and quite un-Italian, namely, the sharp differentiation of the spatial planes in which the angel and Mary are represented. Netherlandish and French masters often carry this so far that a real spiritual relation between the two figures can hardly be discerned (e. g., in the Broederlam altarpiece at Dijon, and in the French tapestry formerly in the Pratt collection, New York,¹³ or in the miniature of folio 45 of the *Grandes Heures de Rohan*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 9471). Such a type of representation eschewing flat pattern for the sake of depth and diagonal spaces corresponds decidedly to Northern taste; it is found already in the beautiful initial of the *Liber Viaticus* of Johann von Neumarkt, a Bohemian work dating shortly before 1360.¹⁴ Early Italian painting, on the other hand, does no more than hint at this sort of thing.¹⁵

Now the Italian type of Annunciation in a bourgeois interior, which was adopted by Jan van Eyck and the Master of Flémalle, was to a great extent able to displace that other, on the whole presumably more Northern, scheme that still appears in the Annunciation by Petrus Cristus in the Metropolitan Museum. Even if it is not true that after 1430 painting in the Low Countries absolutely excluded other schemes,¹⁶ yet we must admit Panofsky's contention that the pictorial conception of the work examined by him was coined not after, but before 1430. The Petrus Cristus panel, therefore, probably derives from a lost original, and, like Panofsky, I should be inclined to believe from a pictorial conception of Hubert van Eyck.

For the younger master to go back beyond his supposed teacher, Jan van Eyck, to

11. As the early capital of Saint-Martin-d'Ainay, Lyon (Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, fig. 43) or, much later, a window in the cathedral of Lyon (Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, 5th ed., 1923, fig. 121) or a relief from Brauweiler dating about 1180 in the Bonn Provinzialmuseum.

12. Goldschmidt, *Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen...*, Berlin, 1930-1934, II, 122.

13. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, figs. 14 and 15.

14. M. Dvořák, *Die Illuminatoren des Johann von Neumarkt*, in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte*, Munich, 1929, pl. 28.

15. As in the Annunciation of Pietro Lorenzetti's polyptych of 1320 at Arezzo or in the Munich miniature of the Annunciation by Giovanni di Benedetto da Como (Panofsky's fig. 12).

16. In the prayer book of Charles the Bold (Vienna, Cod. 1857, fol. 19) the angel is in a garden surrounded by buildings (a reference I owe to Professor Winkler of Berlin).

the older brother is not without parallel. It is well known that the Last Judgment of one of the two Berlin wings signed and dated 1452 goes back to that smaller Last Judgment by Hubert which passed from the Hermitage to the Metropolitan Museum a few years ago (Fig. 9). If the Berlin wing by Petrus Cristus were undated and its prototype unknown to us, we would place it much earlier for iconographic reasons. Following Panofsky's method we would argue presumably that so primitive a version could hardly have been painted after the Beaune Last Judgment by Roger van der Weyden. Yet it is dated 1452, and the Annunciation at New York seems not much older.

Although I am inclined to trace the conception of the Friedsam Annunciation back to Hubert van Eyck, I am prompted thereto by considerations that have nothing in common with Panofsky's. It could hardly be otherwise, for the Hubert van Eyck who I think is to be reckoned with in the history of art is a very different person from that Panofsky has tried to reconstruct in his article.

What gives a special position to the New York panel as compared with almost all early paintings of the Low Countries is the placing of the picture edges. Though we are quite certain only about the lateral edges, we may fairly take for granted that the limits of the panel when painted were not different from those of today. If this be true, and we could hardly conceive that the panel was substantially higher, we are dealing, as far as I know, with the only fifteenth century Netherlandish picture which presents a landscape solely in its foreground section without any horizon. The extreme upper left corner shows a greenish blue, which indicates, however, more probably water, a pond or a river, than a piece of sky.¹⁷ Thus the upper picture edge cuts suddenly through building and landscape at an arbitrary place, and elsewhere the limitation of the field of vision does not impress one as necessary and final. Everything appears decidedly in bird's-eye view so that real perspective depth cannot be obtained even with the architectural lines' vanishing below the upper edge of the picture. The landscape appears to rise indefinitely toward the back.

The contradiction between the architectural perspective, originating with Petrus Cristus, which presupposes a horizon, and the landscape which neither shows nor presupposes one permits us to deduce a prototype by an older master which was here only imitated and translated into a more modern style. Indeed such a cut-off limitation of the picture agrees with what is observable in other works accepted as the earliest creations of the van Eycks. They never cut off the horizon, to be sure, but always let the sky show in the distance. Yet this casual way of cutting off, as a searchlight sweeping back and forth might do, is found in the miniatures by *main* G in the Hours of Turin-Milan, which were painted for Count William VI of Holland, who died toward the end of May, 1417. The Milan Office of the Dead (Fig. 7) shows it clearly. There is not the least reason why the lateral picture edges should cut off the transept arcades where they do and not somewhere else. At the top where the building is ruinous the edge runs through or adjacent to the Gothic profiles, as if to hide the shameful condition.

17. For information concerning the picture I am indebted to Mr. Harry B. Wehle and Mrs. H. D. Allen of the Metropolitan Museum.



FIG. 9—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Crucifixion and Last Judgment* by Hubert van Eyck

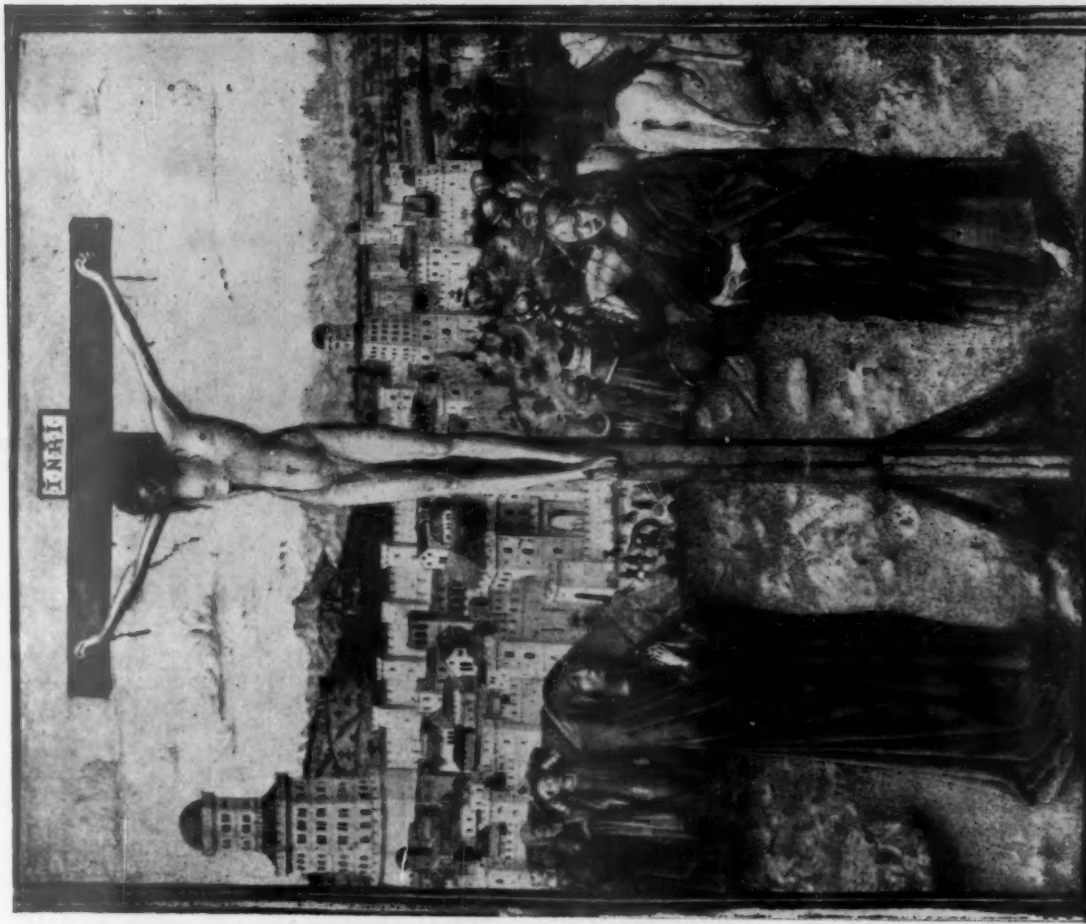


FIG. 10—Milan, Trivulzio Collection: *Crucifixion* by Jan van Eyck

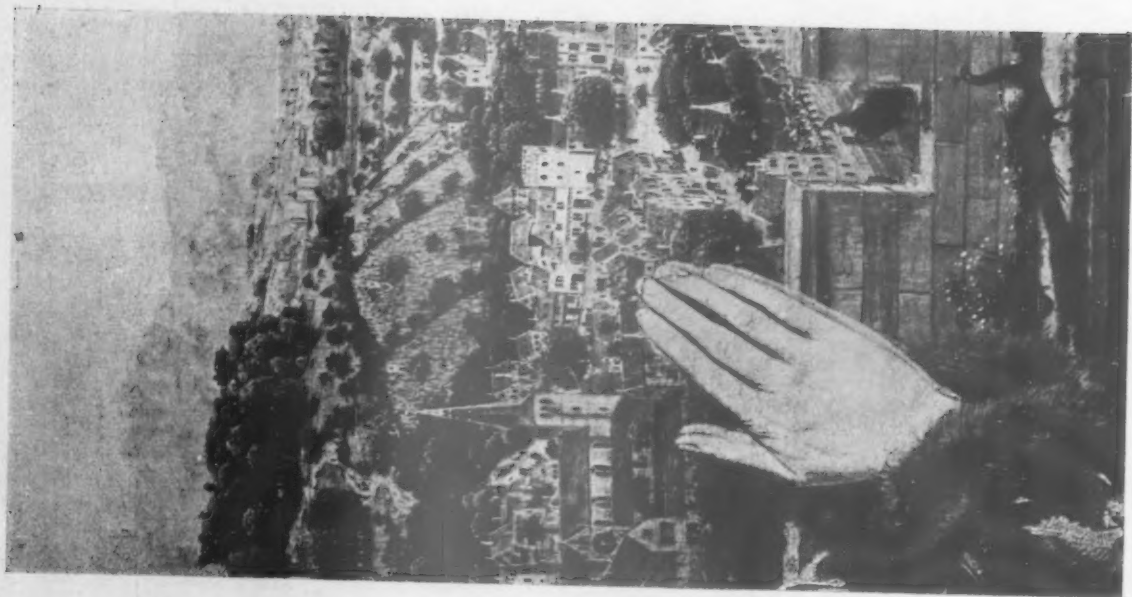


FIG. 11—Detail of Landscape in *Chancellor Rollin Madonna* by Jan van Eyck



FIG. 12—Detail of Landscape in *Ghent Altarpiece. Trees in Upper Part*, by Hubert van Eyck; Remainder of Detail, by Jan

In an earlier contribution it was Panofsky¹⁸ who first pointed out the sharp distinction between the peculiar treatment of this church interior and that of Jan van Eyck's *Virgin in a Church*, Berlin (Fig. 8), where the motives are so similar. Important in the little Berlin panel are the close relations between everything within the picture and its frame: the strict correspondence of figure to space, figure to frame, architecture to frame. The vertical picture edges definitely relate to the verticals of the building, nave piers and rood screen. The arched top harmonizes with the vaulting. The head of the Virgin is set in the heart of the picture's architecture at the most prominent intersections. Thereby she is integrated with her surroundings. In contrast, the miniaturist was content with merely showing as well as he could the difference in size between figures and architecture. He felt a realistic demand for correct scale which Jan van Eyck in his religious interiors almost always disregarded (little altarpiece in Dresden, Annunciations of the Ghent Altarpiece and the Mellon collection, and Paele Madonna).¹⁹

It seems to me unquestionable that the New York Annunciation as a whole, and particularly as regards the relation between figures and architecture, is composed not on the principles of the Berlin *Virgin in a Church*, but of the Milan Office of the Dead. True, this merely expresses something very general. It is of greater importance to see how the problems of landscape were usually handled in the older van Eyck style, which is not, I think, to be connected with Jan. Among the miniatures published by Durrieu and Hulin de Loo²⁰ the most surprising were certain borders in which the decidedly distant landscape stretches to a very far and low horizon still partly below the level of the heads of the little figures. While in the New York Annunciation a normal distant background seems to be cut off by the limits of the picture and the rise in the ground, here the foreground seems to be cut off. The searchlight sweeps higher, and instead of nothing but the limited and near we have only the broad and far.

In other works the author of the miniatures tried to combine the near with the far, the foreground seen in exaggerated top view with a background landscape extending into the farthest depths of space. The Crucifixion (Fig. 9) pendant to the already mentioned Last Judgment of the Metropolitan Museum is the most characteristic result of such endeavor. The frame through which we seem to see the scene has, as it were, been revolved through ninety degrees so as to catch a narrow field of vision not extending horizontally as in the manuscript borders, but vertically. There is something odd about this however, namely, that foreground and background do not fuse in gradual transition. The terrain (as well as the figures) up to the crosses appears in top view as in the landscape of the Friedsam Annunciation. A somewhat more distant hilltop finishes off this foreground towards the back; but behind the hilltop is something quite incongruous, a distant view of a town and then a background

18. *Die Perspektive als symbolische Form*, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924-1925*, Leipzig, 1927, p. 317. Compare Panofsky's more recent comments in note 72 of his article, where he would make the Mellon Annunciation the intermediary between the Milan Office of the Dead and the Berlin *Virgin in a Church*; but the Annunciation shows a very clear relationship of figures to architecture.

19. How the van Eycks cut off their pictures, interiors and even portraits, is further discussed in the *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933-1934, pp. 224 ff.

20. P. Durrieu, *Les Heures de Turin*, Paris, 1902; G. Hulin de Loo, *Les Heures de Milan*, Brussels, 1911.

landscape with the normal effects at last of spatial succession instead of mere superposition. Thus across the picture, splitting the vision of space it incorporates, runs a rift which is only poorly veiled by the screen of hilltop above the farthest heads.

The painter was evidently quite capable of composing in a unified way a pure foreground or a pure background landscape; but in combining them he hit obstacles. These were first overcome by Jan van Eyck, as in the Madonna of the Chancellor Rollin, in the Louvre, and in that Crucifixion represented by a copy in the Cà d'Oro and by a miniature replica, which I consider an original, in the Hours of Turin-Milan (Fig. 10).²¹ In such pictures one feels the unity of their spatial axes extending through the whole composition from the nearest foreground to the remotest horizon. Through the systematic contrast of small vertical forms, be they buildings, figures, trees, or anything else, the pictorial ground is emphasized repeatedly and uniformly as an undeviating plane extending into the background. It is just this unity which the New York Crucifixion lacks; and it is equally lacking in the Three Maries at the Tomb in the Cook collection at Richmond, in the Berlin Crucifixion, and especially in the landscape of the Ghent Altarpiece. In these more primitive works the distance is shown only behind an overlapping foreground which is very high and somewhat deep. Even with Jan van Eyck the background is low for the foreground, but it begins much sooner and, above all, in true directional connection with the foreground.

The two different ways of painting landscape reveal themselves in the smallest details, such as rocks, turf, or foliage, as I have elsewhere shown,²² and particularly trees. Characteristic for Jan van Eyck are those trees with spherical tops which occur in the landscape of the Rollin Madonna (Fig. 11). Treetops as compact masses are set off against each other with a lighting that gives the plastic rounding and the contrasting contours. Where the trunks are visible they appear as many small verticals with their spacing clear even far away. Where the foliage is shown close up—as at a certain place in the Hermits wing of the Ghent Altarpiece (Fig. 12)—a contrast of direction between leaves and branches is made visible by foreshortening the layers of foliage. In comparison the trees in the Judges wing of the same (Fig. 13) reveal an entirely different structure. They too are modeled; but there is a remarkable lack of solidity about the way they stand in the picture. The dark trunks, sometimes rising at a slant, divide into branches before the leafy top sets in, so that a beautiful, varied silhouette results. The lesser boughs above frequently show through the leaves as fine dark lines variously directed. The foliage itself is very tender and quite loose; there is no compact form, no occupation of a definite space.²³ Here too the landscape structure seems unsubstantial because the pictorial ground is not clearly characterized as either flat or hilly, but rises indefinitely to the back. The depression

21. Panofsky's doubts about Jan executing the same composition both in the miniature and in a lost panel picture (his note 75) are unfounded, for such original replicas are by no means unusual in the painting of the Low Countries (as the St. Francis pictures by Jan van Eyck which Anselm d'Adornes willed to his daughters).

22. *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933-1934, pp. 188 ff.; *Oud Holland*, 1936, pp. 15 ff.

23. Panofsky (note 50) tries to rule out all such observations by imputing the differences to the various distances of the details. I would reply that the rocks and the fields at Ghent are at about the same distance, and that differences in the treatment of stone can be seen at every distance. In E. Renders, *Jean van Eyck*, compare pls. vii, 9 and xi, 2 with pls. vii, 5 & 8 and xi, 1, also in *Oud Holland*, 1936, p. 16, fig. 1. For masses of slate identical in motive but painted quite differently see Fig. 13.



FIG. 13—Detail of Landscape in Ghent Altarpiece. Figures and Adjacent Piece of Rock
by Jan van Eyck; Remainder of Rock and Landscape by Hubert

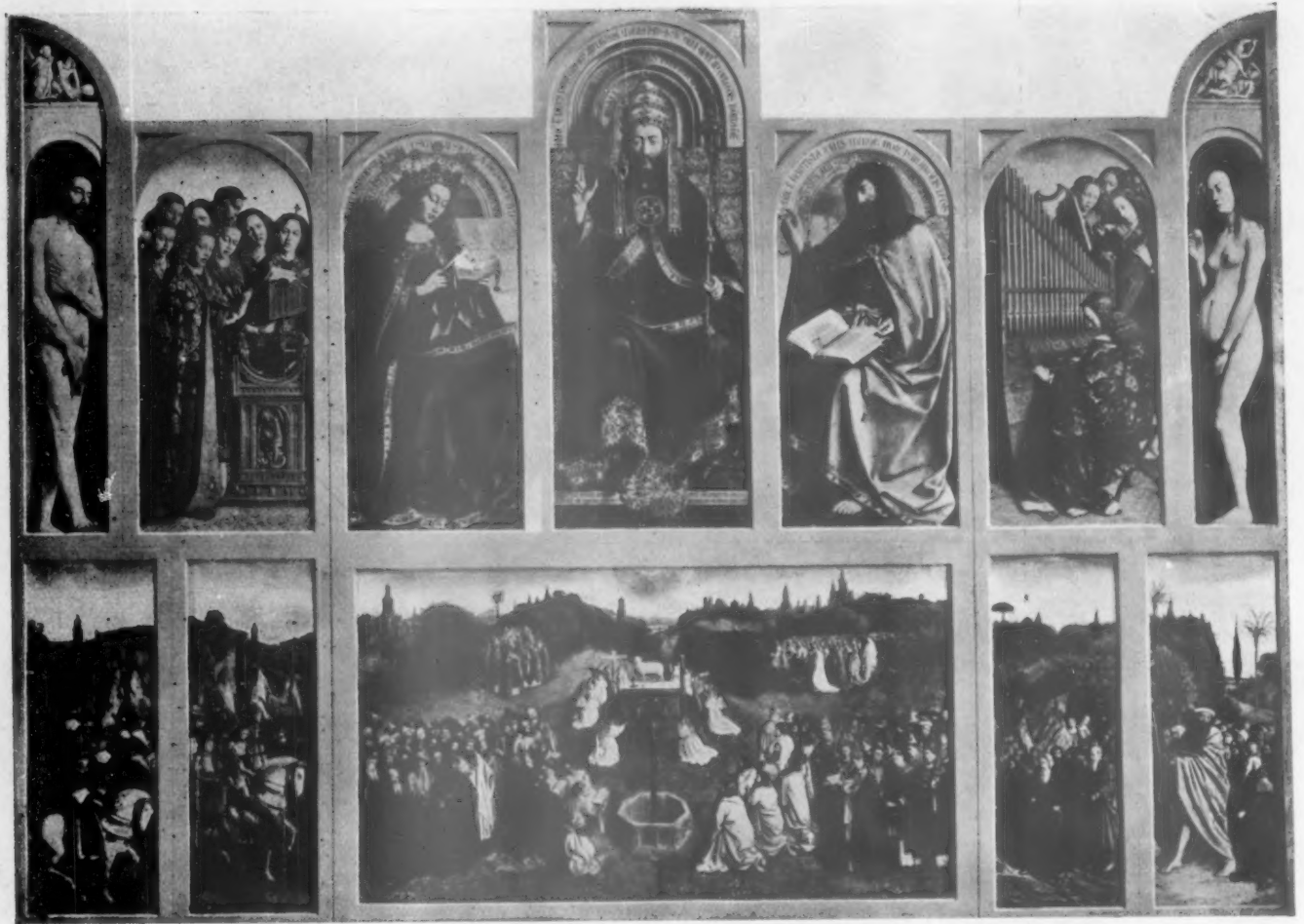


FIG. 14—Ghent, St. Bavo: Interior of Ghent Altarpiece by Hubert and Jan van Eyck

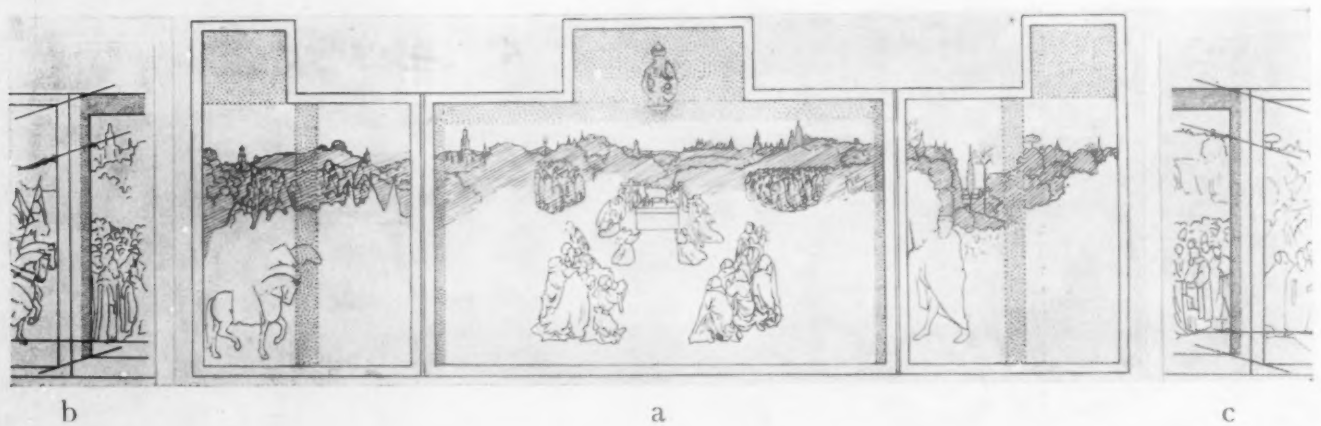


FIG. 15—(a) *Reconstruction of Original Plan of Ghent Altarpiece: Dotted Sections Restored; Shaded Parts by Hubert van Eyck; Figures in Outline by Jan but perhaps already in Hubert's Layout.*
 (b, c) *Jan van Eyck's Changes at Left and Right of Middle Panel: Dotted Sections Cut down by Jan; Diagonal Lines Indicate Raising of Middle Panel, Horizontal show Base Line of Figures*

which the sudden emergence of the huge tower implies is not indicated, and a really distant horizon is not reached in this wing at all.

A landscape of similar character, only of less scope, must have been in the prototype of the Friedsam Annunciation, where analogous rising of the pictorial ground is combined with a similar treatment of the (two) trees of the field, the branching out close to the ground being made an interesting pattern. And as in front of the wooded meadow in Ghent there grow lower bushes in whose foliage light and dark form a finer and smaller pattern, so in the picture by Petrus Cristus the field is separated from the foreground by the fine flowery foliage of the shrubbery closeby.

Admittedly this is not the treatment of space and landscape we are accustomed to find with Petrus Cristus. This younger master was already quite familiar with the innovations and the spatial conception of Jan van Eyck. There is in fact a certain difficulty in fitting this panel into the development of the master, as Panofsky justly felt. But the difficulty disappears when we realize that we do not have here an original composition of Petrus Cristus, but a free copy after a model by that older master who had started to paint the landscape of the Ghent Altarpiece.

Now, how about this masterpiece of the van Eycks, on which alone the problem of Hubert hangs? Panofsky sees the difference between the homogeneous outside (Fig. 6) of the Ghent Altarpiece and the obviously heterogeneous inside (Fig. 14) very much as I do. He observes the unhomogeneous spatial conception and the stylistic difference between top and bottom in the Adoration of the Lamb and its wings. He concludes, as I do, that this lower picture, unfinished and probably begun as a triptych by Hubert, was incorporated in a two-story arrangement by Jan van Eyck. But our opinions differ widely as to what had been painted already by Hubert and what constituted Jan's contribution.

Panofsky still starts with the older belief of Dvořák²⁴ and others that the Deësis must belong to the older master. New, however, is his idea, perhaps first suggested by Renders, that the Deësis was originally to form an altarpiece by itself, the panels with musical angels being thought of as organ shutters. The organ shutters and Deësis were unfinished works of Hubert according to Panofsky, of Jan according to Renders. They think these elements, together with the panels of Adam and Eve, were only later placed on the Adoration of the Lamb, which also was first laid out and partly executed by Hubert according to Panofsky, by Jan according to Renders.

Since a retable consisting only of the Deësis panels would be something unique, Panofsky feels under obligation to prove that a main panel with God the Father between wings with Mary and John the Baptist is quite conceivable as an artistic and iconographic whole. His attempt to prove this is necessarily abortive for, as far as we know, God the Father without the other Persons of the Trinity is liturgically impossible for the main panel of an altarpiece. Panofsky's contention that altarpieces of such a type were not at all unusual in the North and occurred in Italy has no tenable basis. The reredos in Stephan Lochner's Presentation in the Temple of 1447 at Darmstadt does not show God the Father, as Panofsky states, but the horned Moses with the Tables

24. *Das Rätsel der Kunst der Gebrüder van Eyck*, in *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten*

Kaiserhauses, XXIV (1903), Vienna, reprinted as book, Munich, 1925.

of the Law. In the reredos of the London Mass of St. Hubert by the Master of Werden²⁵ it is the enthroned Christ that appears between Sts. Peter and Paul, exactly as in the Regina shrine of 1457 in the parish church at Rhynern (Westphalia), which was produced about the same time in the same region (artistically). In the latter the Enthroned has the long beard and tiara, but He could not possibly be God the Father for all the apostles are added as companions.²⁶ The middle figure of the reredos of the Flemish Mass of St. Gregory in the Metropolitan Museum²⁷ cannot be recognized either as God the Father or otherwise. Finally, the three panels by Giovanni da Milano²⁸ do not, as Panofsky seems to wish to suggest without saying it, constitute an altarpiece, but are only the crowning pinnacles of one. The isolated God the Father was quite in place here in a greater composition, of which we no longer have the whole.

It is surprising that Panofsky did not pick an entirely different expedient to show the possibility of his assumption that the Ghent Deësis was originally planned as a separate work. To judge by citations in his note 66 he is acquainted with the arguments of theological interpreters of the Ghent Altarpiece to the effect that we have here the enthroned Christ, not God the Father. Furthermore, Jan Gossart, in his free partial copy, has painted the real Deësis.²⁹ The question thus arises whether it is not the real Deësis at Ghent too. The objection that God the Father would then be entirely lacking in the altarpiece is not very cogent, especially if we reconstruct the original panel of the Adoration of the Lamb with that Person in half length above the Dove. This small figure is then replaced in the amplified plan by the transfigured Christ acting as High Priest in Heaven, while below in the Lamb the Christ is represented as present to believers through the Sacrament. Quite decisive, according to theological conceptions, is the fact that John the Baptist points to the central figure: this pointing, together with the open Gospel, can indeed hardly have reference to God the Father, the less so as the small pelican designs in the brocade ground of the panel are inscribed with the name of Christ. The other inscriptions, *Deus Potentissimus*, *Sabaot*, etc., are for Catholics, as applicable to Christ as to the Almighty.

Even with this new interpretation of the middle figure, an interpretation on which I reserve judgment, all probability is against the assumption that the Deësis formed a separate altarpiece originally. Painted altarpieces of this type simply do not exist, and Panofsky's suggestion that the panels were meant to be placed in a richly carved architectural frame is unacceptable because real plastic carvings would have nullified the painting's own plastic effect. Around paintings of this type and time in the Low Countries nothing can well be conceived but narrow borders with flat profiles. And could it really have been mere chance that the width of the three Deësis panels, together with that of the dividing border strips, should exactly correspond to the width of the central panel of the altarpiece?

25. Panofsky's fig. 30.

26. Nordhoff, *Die Kunst und Geschichtsdenkmäler des Kreises Hamm*, 1881, p. 89. I am indebted to Professor Josef Braun S. J. for this reference and for information regarding the interpretation of the Enthroned at Ghent as the Christ. Christ appears elsewhere with the long beard, nay even as an old

man, as in the Last Judgment of the Grandes Heures de Rohan (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. lat. 9471, fol. 154); consequently He is often misinterpreted as God the Father.

27. Panofsky's fig. 31.

28. *Ibid.*, fig. 29.

29. *Ibid.*, fig. 32.

Equally unsuccessful seems to me the explanation that the three upper panels, like the Escorial Deposition of Roger van der Weyden, imitated a triptych carved and then partly gilt, partly painted. The very opposite is true, not sculptures but painted panels are intended here. True, this only becomes clear on consideration of the present altarpiece as a whole. Just as in the lower story of its exterior the donors as living actuality are contrasted with the two Sts. John reproducing white stone statues, so in the upper story of its interior the large figures of Adam and Eve (referred as they are to the spectator below through the frog's-eye perspective of the niches in which they stand) as living actuality are contrasted with the small reliefs above. Between these three-dimensionally conceived lateral panels of the interior the five middle panels appear as flat pictures, in spite of the plasticity of their figures, simply by the contrast of their perspective, which has no reference whatever to the position of the spectator. The essence of painting is caught here, as it is in Giotto's Arena Chapel, where contrast with the painted sculpture of the dado and with the small chapel perspectives seen from below that flank the choir entrance gives the painted stories the character of pictures applied to the wall. Like the painting of the Arena Chapel, that of the Ghent Altarpiece has created the quintessential picture, the picture conceived as a picture in contrast to the picture conceived as actuality or as sculpture; in both places this carries with it a definite divorce from the world of the spectator. At Ghent it is precisely as solemn and archaic icons that the three middle panels above are intended, as belonging to a world in every respect distinct in essence from our actuality. This intention explains their remarkable monumentality, and that hieratic severity of the middle figure especially, distinguishing them from other van Eycks. With supreme consistency the monumentality and solemnity increase from the end panels toward the middle, and the very change in scale from the figures of Adam and Eve to the angels and from these again to the great Enthroned makes it clear that we are not at all justified in applying here the standards of our actual experience.

It seems necessary to take the seven panels of the upper register as forming a unity neither fortuitous nor arbitrary with the pictures below.³⁰ Only such panels, not meant as earthly actuality but as pictures, i. e. flat, could be superposed on the Adoration of the Lamb with its broad landscape and sky without crushing it, and the effect desired of mere pictures motivated the violent perspective contrast with the Adam and Eve panels. But even the three middle figures could not really be painted as entirely flat and spaceless. Rather they must aim at great pictorial plasticity and spatial effect (not unlike the figures in the frescoes of Giotto) or else the upper and lower tiers would not go together—and how complete is their fusion! Above and below do we not have the same progressive tendency of the figures to free themselves from the lower edge, the same increase of freedom and space as we go from panel to panel toward the middle? Is it possible that a composition thus carefully calculated and arranged with due regard for all considerations was made, as Panofsky and Renders

30. The "crucial question" posed by Panofsky, what could have induced such a great master to destroy the well weighed balance of a given altarpiece through the superposition of seven heavy panels, he is himself unable to answer satisfactorily. The conjectured existence of other finished or unfinished

panels has no bearing on such a supposedly irrational superaddition. I again call attention to Spain, whence Jan had just returned and where he might have been infected by the Spanish penchant for retables of more than one story (*Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 1933-1934, p. 214).

suppose, by the inorganic piecing together of the most heterogeneous elements, altarpieces, organ shutters? I should think a theory of that kind would be decisively rejected by those who maintain any feeling for artistic consistency.

For these iconographic and aesthetic reasons the upper panels, at least the major part of them, could have been planned only with reference to their present task of crowning the lower ones. The angel panels might be conceivable otherwise—the organ shutter hypothesis is not entirely unreasonable—but, in fact, they too seem to have been destined for their present position from the start.³¹ In the lower register we have the only part that did not anticipate the rest. A decision, at least in a general way, as to what in it goes back to the original project, and what was painted after the change of plan, I have found possible on definite structural grounds, and even Panofsky's objections do not weaken my argument.

He had to concede that the Adoration of the Lamb was reduced in height in connection with the change of plan in order to provide a broader frame to support adequately the upper panels. Going further, he was even able to correct at one point the reconstruction I suggested, and I am frankly taking over in my accompanying diagram (Fig. 15) this correction: I indicate how the panel has been shortened at the lateral edges. For here the width of the original frame must have been less than now, as at top and bottom—the wings could never very well have been narrower to fit. Panofsky, however, fails to see that this matter of width does not prove anything against my arguments as to what was painted before and what after the change of plan. He cannot get around the fact that while a break shows in the line of the sky it does not in the line on which the figures stand. The horizon's break of four centimeters corresponds to the difference in level of the lower edges: exactly as at the horizon the middle panel is raised by four centimeters as against the side ones. The composition of the lower figure groups, however, presupposes this raising, i. e. the present condition; admitting this, Panofsky suggests that the middle panel could have been cut down five and a half centimeters all around. If this were the case the original relative position both of horizon and figures in the middle panel would have been approximately as now. The terrain being hilly, one could imagine that instead of the present break in the skyline there was a transition and gradual rise from the wings to the middle panel, the trimming of which at the sides was enough, without any displacement upward, to result in the break.

Now, imagining this really to be the case, let us try out Panofsky's conjecture. It presupposes that the landscape was in existence before the diminution of the middle panel and change of plan. Yet it is this very priority of the landscape that Panofsky intends to deny, a circumstance he forgets for the moment, for it is obviously the thesis of Dvořák he intends to support, namely, that the lower figures are the work of Hubert.

31. I plead guilty to having emphasized overmuch the detachability of the angel panels, as in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1933, p. 67. Even if they were pictures not originally planned in connection with the altar as a whole, the panels between them—at least subsequently—were variously harmonized with them: the raised arm of St. John with the slant of the organ pipes, the turn of his head with that of

the celloist, and, on the opposite side, Mary's book and the hand that leafs it with the top of the lectern (slant, hand, and book). The variation in background and pavement is purposeful for, taken in connection with the variation in the size of the figures, it provides the intervals required between the triple middle section and the sides.

On page 454 in his article we read: "In the Adoration of the Lamb a marked difference in pictorial technique, figural types and spatial feeling is recognizable between the lower two thirds and the upper third of the picture...." If this be so, either the landscape or the figures were painted first. Panofsky's hypothesis makes sense only if the landscape belongs to the first state of the altarpiece, i. e., only if what I have contended, and he doubts is correct.³²

This self-contradiction, this bald inconsequence, is not the only objection to Panofsky's conjecture. The landscape thus painted before the change of plan would have always had a narrower band of sky in the middle panel than in the wings. Not only the horizon of the middle panel but the water level below the horizon also would have been well above the skyline of the left side panels—not to mention the exceptional right panel with the pilgrims. Such inconsistency, which, with the top of the pictures on a level, would have probably been even more disturbing than today, could hardly have been intended in the original layout.

The conclusion is that the middle panel was not cut down all around, as Panofsky suggests, but only at left and right, about five and a half centimeters, at the bottom not all, at the top, however, about eleven centimeters. The disparity in the horizon resulted naturally from the raising of the panel that four centimeters by which it now differs at its lower edge from its neighbors. Therefore, the lower figure groups, which presuppose the present scheme, were painted not, as Panofsky thinks, before the change of plan but after. The discrepancy in style he admits between the upper and lower part can, accordingly, be explained only if we assume that the top third of the picture, with the landscape, was painted by the first master, the lower part, with the large figures, by the second. It was then the second master, Jan van Eyck, who created the large figures of the upper story also; for the Deësis has its nearest analogies in the monumental figures of pilgrims below—as both Dvořák and Panofsky agree. Except that Hubert painted the upper parts of the Adoration of the Lamb and of its wings, the Ghent Altarpiece all belongs to the two-story plan of Jan.

Before the distinction on structural grounds of an earlier and a later phase of the altarpiece was made, I had determined on purely stylistic grounds that the landscape and the small groups of bishops and female martyrs in the background of the Adoration of the Lamb must have been started by a master other than Jan van Eyck, to be exact, by the master whom Hulin de Loo had already proposed to call Hubert van Eyck. A purely critical study of the painter's technique and of his treatment of space and figures has thus found itself confirmed by entirely different methods. Further progress must now await a thorough investigation of the physical condition of the panels by X-ray, by microscopic analysis of the pigments, by careful inspection of the edges beneath the frames and of the backs of the panels (grain of the wood). Until these vital investigations are made any polemic is superfluous between those theories of the genesis of the altarpiece which are stylistically reasonable and logically coherent.

32. That the landscape might have been drawn in only does not afford a way out, for the second painter would then have had the opportunity to veil the break, which he did not do at all. But he would

certainly have done it according to Panofsky (note 59): "Needless to say, a painter who has to complete the unfinished work of another will do his best to smooth away the differences."

In my recent article in *Oud Holland* I have listed as such theories the following three:

1. The opinion that Hubert van Eyck's style cannot be recognized at all there and that all the Eyckian works show more or less clearly Jan's style.

2. Dvořák's hypothesis that Hubert planned the altar as a whole and began with the figures of the Deësis (his further attributions to Hubert are disqualified, however, because the Adoration of the Lamb was demonstrably not started with the lower group of figures).

3. Hulin de Loo's separation of a certain group of early Eyckian works from the paintings of Jan, a separation which I have attempted within the Ghent Altarpiece.

Panofsky's hypothesis that, besides parts of the Ghent Altarpiece, Hubert van Eyck painted the Annunciation panel of the Metropolitan Museum and the panel of Three Maries at the Tomb at Richmond (or its lost original) I am unable to count among the reasonable theories. The *œuvre* of Panofsky's Hubert van Eyck is stylistically as heterogeneous as can be. I believe it must be divided among three masters: Jan and Hubert van Eyck, and Petrus Cristus. The conception of a highly monumental Hubert, which was the leading idea of Dvořák and others, Panofsky has hopelessly confused with the idea of a completely unmonumental Hubert who was lacking in any feeling for plastic structure. He detaches the Richmond panel, which has always, and rightly, been associated with the New York panels of the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment and with the miniatures of Hulin de Loo's *main G*, from the group of early Eyckian works as supposedly "less miniaturelike," without giving any plausible reason.

This is what I felt obliged to designate at the beginning as complete disregard of the border line between theorizing and connoisseurship. Panofsky has taken a path which critical study of technique and style cannot follow, for he unreasonably abandons what is already secure. He has failed to distinguish his reconstructed Hubert van Eyck from Jan van Eyck, and to show intelligibly how they differ in pictorial composition, figures, and landscape. He has not adequately characterized his Hubert van Eyck as a personality or as a figure in the history of art.³³ All this justifies the conclusion that he himself has no clear conception of this personality and artistic style. Such a conception it is indeed impossible to form because the pictures brought together as the creation of one personality have little in common artistically.

Similar objections cannot, I believe, be raised against the view advanced by Hulin de Loo and developed by me. Repeatedly I have tried to indicate in the visible forms themselves the difference between the works of Jan van Eyck and those I consider attributable to Hubert as a general difference of style constantly perceptible in the total pictorial composition and the detail as well. I have also tried to show how much nearer Hubert approaches to the older art of the Limbourg brothers than does

33. His only effort at characterization is on pages 472 and 473: "... the compositions here ascribed to Hubert van Eyck are connected with each other by one quality which distinguishes them from those by Jan: they all reveal not only a certain conservatism but also a certain persistence of that Italianizing tendency which... is entirely neutralized in the style

of Jan van Eyck." Hubert is presented as "more archaic" and as occupying "an intermediary position" between Italianate and Northern tendencies. Even this meager characterization is problematical enough since, as has been shown above, Panofsky's ideas of Italianate and Northern are very unbalanced and insecure.

Jan, how Jan's style is founded on Hubert's, and how Jan carried Hubert's innovations through to their radical consequences.

We must consider it a piece of luck that there is conclusive evidence of the order in which painting proceeded on the panels of the Ghent Altarpiece, where the two styles are side by side. Panofsky's attack has unexpectedly reinforced the evidence. Let us hope that a final and thorough physical investigation of the Ghent Altarpiece, such as I have repeatedly urged, may corroborate the results obtained to date. We all desire to emerge from hypotheses and debate, and to learn the truth about it.

CARLO RAINALDI AND THE ROMAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE FULL BAROQUE

By RUDOLF WITTKOWER

THERE are three reasons why Carlo Rainaldi's architecture ought to command a more lasting interest than his actual talent might seem to justify: (1) His works and projects are connected with the most important architectural enterprises in Rome during the seventeenth century. (2) In his process of working we can observe the modification of his own principles of design through the influence of his greater contemporaries. (3) Those principles of design which are distinctly his own can be defined as a carrying over of "mannerist architecture" into the Full Baroque.

The last point is my chief topic in this paper, which is to be taken as a continuation of my essay, published in this journal,¹ on Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana, the most outstanding and epoch-making example of "mannerist" architecture.

It is evident that the historical significance of Rainaldi can be understood only in the light of an exhaustive study of his principal works. As my purpose, however, is not to write a monograph but to trace the evolution of a particular architectural conception, it is not necessary to deal with all his works, nor to take them in strict chronological order.²

My method of procedure will be this: I shall first demonstrate the interaction between Rainaldi's principles and those of the "true" Baroque (Maderno, Bernini, Borromini, Fontana) in the history of the following three buildings: (a) the two parallel churches in the Piazza del Popolo, (b) S. Agnese in the Piazza Navona, (c) S. Andrea della Valle. I shall, in the second place, discuss Rainaldi's contribution to the problem of the centrally planned churches. This will offer an opportunity for discussing the evolution of this scheme in the works of Bernini, Cortona, and Borromini and for defining Rainaldi's position in the development of the Baroque style as a whole. In the third place I shall give a detailed analysis of his most important work: S. Maria in Campitelli. And finally I shall present some material for adjudging Rainaldi's artistic development.

1. *The Art Bulletin*, XVI (1934), pp. 123 ff.

2. For a monographic treatment see E. Hempel, *Carlo Rainaldi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des roemischen Barock*. Diss. Munich, 1919. Also by the

same author: *Carlo Rainaldi*, in the *Biblioteca d'Arte Illustrata*, Series I, Fasc. II. Compare also the article by Mandl in Thieme-Becker, *Kuenstler-Lexikon*, XXVII (1933), p. 578.



FIG. 1—Rome: Piazza del Popolo



FIG. 2—Engraving by Falda of Piazza del Popolo. 1665



FIG. 3—*Rome: S. Maria di Monte Santo. 1662-7, 1671-5*

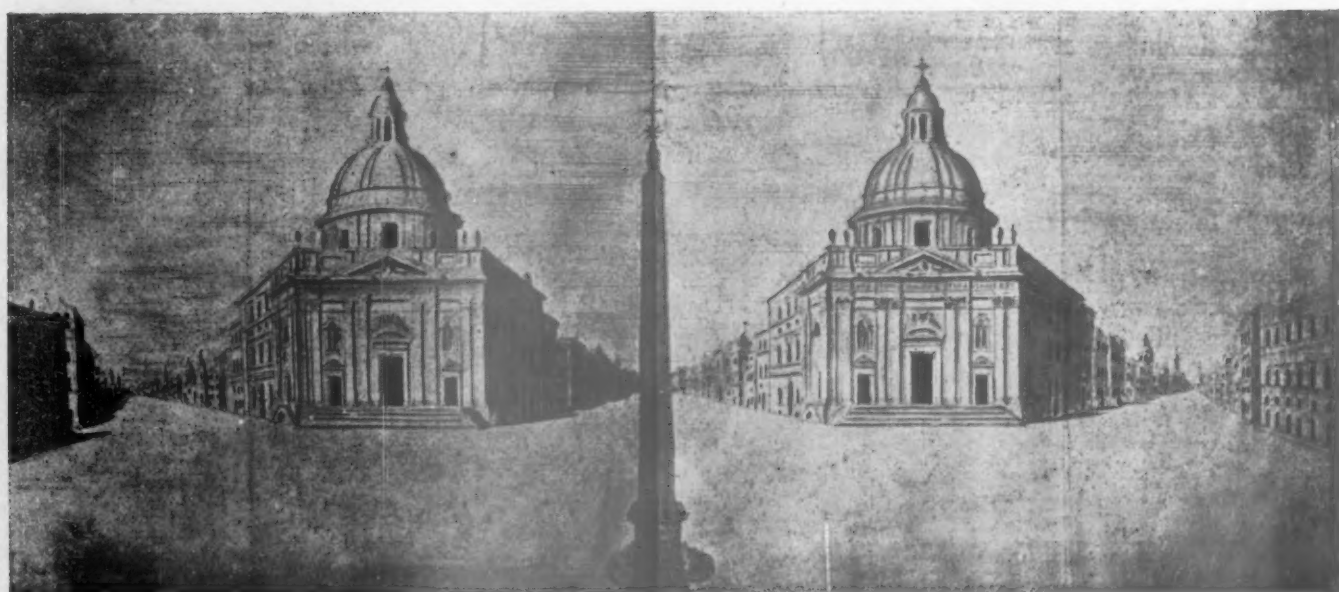


FIG. 4—*Project by Carlo Rainaldi for the Churches on Piazza del Popolo. 1661*

SANTA MARIA DI MONTE SANTO AND S. MARIA DE' MIRACOLI IN THE PIAZZA DEL POPOLO

The history of the building of the two churches in the Piazza del Popolo (Fig. 1) as given by Hempel³ and other writers in his train,⁴ must be corrected and amplified in some points. On March 15, 1662, the foundation stones of the churches were laid and the building continued until the death of Alexander VII (May 22, 1667). Then came a pause of four years. From 1671 onwards the future Cardinal Giovanni Gastaldi had the work carried on at his own expense. S. Maria di Monte Santo (Fig. 3), the building to the left, was practically completed by the Holy Year 1675,⁵ but was consecrated only in 1678, and S. Maria de' Miracoli in 1679.⁶

The architect of the first period was Rainaldi (1662-1667), but the completion of the buildings after 1671 was carried out by Bernini. Since the researches of Hempel it has been taken as proved that when Bernini took over the work he modified the original plan in two directions, first as regards S. Maria di Monte Santo by substituting a ground plan based on an elongated oval, for the circular ground plan of the original design; and secondly by altering the exterior of both buildings, especially through the enlargement of the domes and the rejection of the high attic between the lower structure and the tambour. Hempel seeks to prove the first point by a reference to the *Guida* of the Abate Titi from 1686,⁷ which on the whole may be regarded as a reliable authority, and the second by a comparison of the completed building with the Falda engraving, made in 1665⁸ and therefore during the time when Rainaldi was still in charge of the work (Fig. 2).

Hempel does not raise the question of what can have caused Bernini to alter the ground plan of S. Maria di Monte Santo, nor indeed as to whether the church had not been already begun during the long five-year period under Rainaldi, so that any important alterations in the ground plan would have been impossible. Misgivings are indeed aroused by the fact that the first edition of Titi's work, published in 1674,⁹

3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

4. E. Coudenhove-Erthal, *Carlo Fontana*, Vienna, 1930, pp. 36 ff.; and Mandl, *op. cit.*

5. Inscription above the inner door: ANNO JUBILEO MDCLXXV. See also Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese.... di Roma*, IX, p. 385.

6. Exterior inscription over the entrance: ANNO DNI MDCLXXVIII. Interior inscription over the entrance: MDCLXXIX. See Forcella, *op. cit.*, X, p. 621.

7. *Ammaestramento utile e curioso di pittura, scultura ed architettura nelle chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1686, p. 355.

8. In Giov. Giac. Rossi, *Il nuovo teatro.... delle fabbriche.... di Roma.... sotto Alessandro VII*, Rome, 1665, I, pl. 7.

In the analysis of the history of the construction one can in future omit the drawing by Lieven Cruyl of 1664, which Egger was the first to publish in *Roemische Veduten*, I, 1911, pl. 5. Egger was then under the false impression that he could conclude from this drawing that the buildings were in 1664 "almost completed externally." Hempel, *op. cit.*,

p. 48, note 2, and Coudenhove-Erthal *op. cit.*, p. 37, assume that the drawing represents an early design by Rainaldi which has disappeared. It is not necessary to give a detailed demonstration here that the drawing by Cruyl is a misinterpretation of the design on the foundation medal of the churches (see below and Fig. 9). His method is demonstrated by the fact that as late as 1692 he made an engraving after his drawing (copy in Rome, Corsini, Cart. 7000, Inv. 16796), which however corrects the drawing in as much as the churches are represented in the same condition as on the foundation medal. But meanwhile the buildings had actually been completed in their altered form! This shows with what circumspection we should accept the documentary value of Cruyl's "vedute" which are at present much overestimated. Even Falda in his very accurate *Pianta di Roma* of 1676 (ed. Cardinal Ehrle, 1931) still represented the churches on Piazza del Popolo according to the foundation medal.

9. *Studio di pittura, scultura e architettura nelle chiese di Roma*.

contains a statement which directly contradicts that made in the second edition, to which Hempel refers. This can be shown by a comparison between the two texts:

Titi, 1st. ed., 1674, p. 427:“fù Architetto il Cav. Rainaldi, e ne diede il disegno bellissimo, che vâ in stampa. Hora si finisce quella di Monte Santo mediante la generosità dell'Eminentissimo Castaldi della quale con la direttione del Bernino, e assistenza del Cav. Fontana si è mutato il disegno *fuori che del Cupolino*, e Altar maggiore, che è del medemo Rainaldi.”

Titi, 2nd ed., 1686, p. 355:

....“col pensiero del Bernino e assistenza del Cav. Fontana si mutò il Cuppolino, e ridusse in ovato la Chiesa che prima era rotonda seguitando il disegno del Rainaldi.”

In the first edition Titi attributes the “Cupolino” (by which he can merely mean the relatively small dome) and therefore the corresponding ground plan of the building to Rainaldi himself (Figs. 5, 6). That this is the correct view (which Titi, twelve years later, erroneously altered) is confirmed by an independent authority, the editor of *Roma sacra antica e moderna* in the edition of 1687;¹⁰ he states, apparently in refutation of the statement in Titi's second edition, that on March 15, 1662, the monks began to build a “riguardevole Chiesa in forma ovata.” And the text of the first edition of Titi is obviously followed by the critical editor of *Descrizione di Roma moderna* of 1697,¹¹ who makes the characteristic change of term from “Cupolino” into “Cupola.”¹²

That there can be finally no doubt that the ground plan of S. Maria in Monte Santo derives from Rainaldi himself is proved by an engraving by Carlo Fontana dedicated to Cardinal Matteo Orlandi in 1674.¹³ For here (Fig. 10) Fontana actually proposes

10. Pp. 96-97.

11. P. 467.

12. “Essendo stato Architetto della Cupola e dell'Altar maggiore l'istesso Rainaldi, e di tutto il restante il Bernini e Fontana.” For the documentary value of this *Guida* see L. Schudt, *Le Guide di Roma*, 1930, p. 54. In Baldinucci's *Vita of Rainaldi (Vite....)* ed. per cura di F. Ranalli, Florence, 1847, V, p. 331 there is no special mention of a change of plan. A later engraving by Falda of S. Maria di Monte Santo in Giov. Giacomo de Rossi, *Insignium Romae Templorum prospectus*, Rome, 1684, pl. 47, bears the inscription: “Graphia, et inventum Eq. D. Caroli Rainaldi Architecti Romani.” The engraving does not indeed correspond with the actual building (which had already been long completed) and even represents the church with the octagonal dome which had originally been planned. The inscriptions on the very fine engravings published by Domenico de Rossi, *Studio d'architettura civile*, Rome, 1721, III, pls. 29-32 (figs. 5-8) attributing S. Maria di Monte Santo to Rainaldi, and S. Maria de' Miracoli to Fontana are of course erroneous; they misrepresent

a partly true tradition. For the attribution of the details of the elevations see p. 268.

13. “Dissegno per la nova cupola della Chiesa di Monte Santo sotto li XX Marzo 1674.” Below a dedication by Fontana from which it is evident that the plan dates from much earlier than 1674 and that meanwhile another plan had been executed: “offero a V. S. Ill.ma una vittima, che è sua, con viva speranza d'esserle gradita, benchè non affettuata nell'opra.” The significance of this plan is made clear by the text and ground plan which can be seen respectively left and right above. “Ragioni del Disegno. La figura della Chiesa, è Ovale Misto e non Ellipse seg.to A prodotto in virtù di pal. 100 di lon.a e larg.a pal. 80 varia solo alla rotondità pal. 10 per lato. Dunque facile sarebbe stato l'esecuzione circolare perche scemando la grossezza del tamburro sino a pal. 5 nelli lati BB (i. e. longitudinal outer diameter of the dome 110 P.) crescendo sino a pal. 12 nelli lati CC (i. e. the transverse outer diameter of the dome 104 P.) resta solo che pal. 3 (i. e. altogether 6 palms) di variazione al circolo, alterando poi l'aggetti in proieitura in CC e diminuendo in BB. Certo che

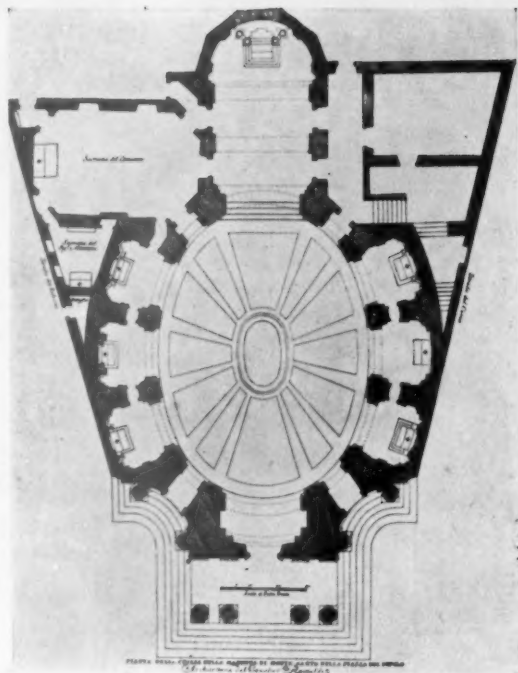


FIG. 5



FIG. 6

Ground Plan and Section of S. Maria di Monte Santo on Piazza del Popolo

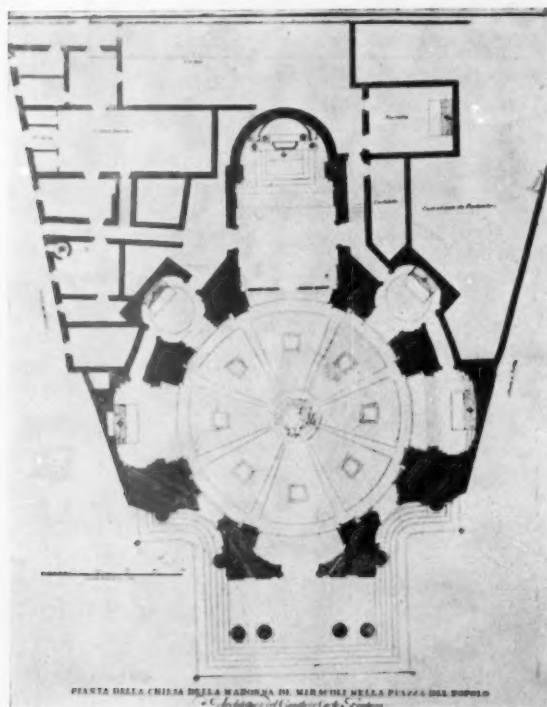


FIG. 7

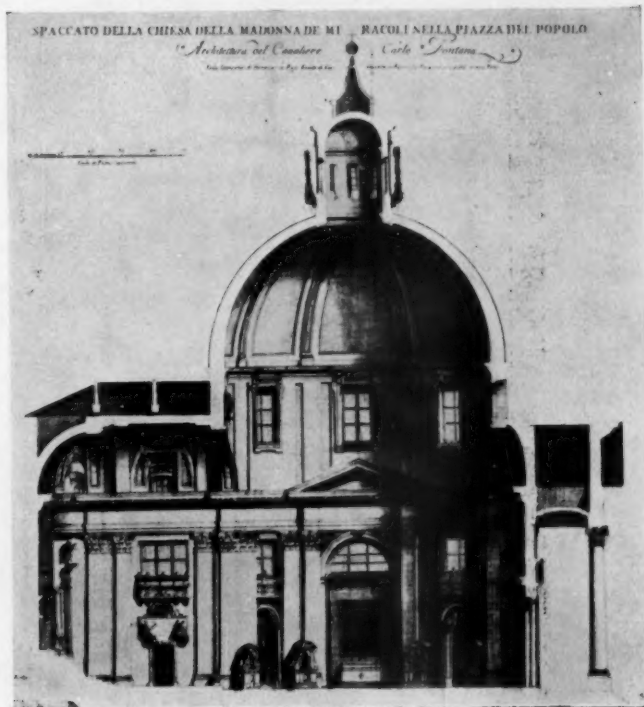


FIG. 8

Ground Plan and Section of S. Maria de' Miracoli on Piazza del Popolo



FIG. 9—*Foundation Medal of S. Maria di Monte Santo and S. Maria de' Miracoli (Carlo Rainaldi's Project), 1662*

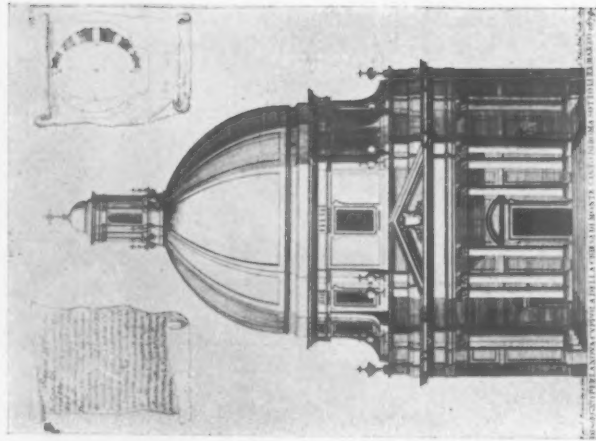


FIG. 10.—Project by Carlo Fontana
for Alteration of Dome of S. Maria
di Monte Santo. Engraving of 1674

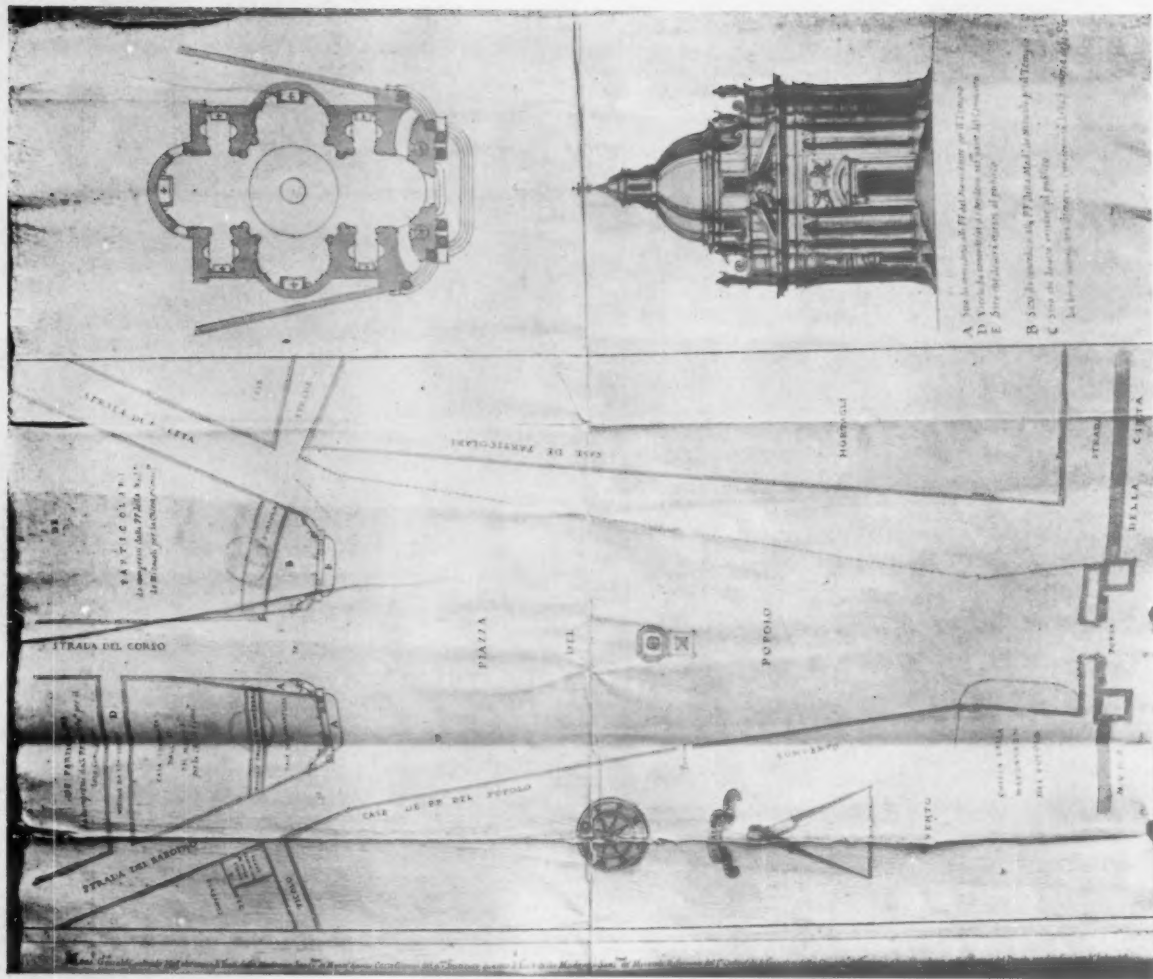


FIG. 11—*Project by Carlo Rainaldi for the Churches on Piazza del Popolo, 1661*

to counteract the irregular aspect of the dodecagonal dome, a form of dome which was necessitated by the oval ground plan, by thickening the walls of the tambour latitudinally so that outwardly an appearance of regular quasi-circular form would be produced. By this means he was therefore proposing to correct the disparate dodecagonal design of Rainaldi, which from his classical standpoint he would feel compelled to condemn.

It may be asked, however, whether Rainaldi's own plans are not at variance with the literary authorities and with Fontana's engraving. Up to the present only the design by Rainaldi on the foundation medal of 1662 (Fig. 9)¹⁴ has been known, the design which was used by Falda in the above-mentioned engraving in the *Teatro Nuovo* of 1665 (Fig. 2). Here one certainly finds a completely symmetrical representation of both churches, and it has been regarded as Rainaldi's last word. But though we have no later plan of his by which it is superseded it can be proved that building was never begun on the lines of the official plan.

What was actually the ground plan of the design shown on the medal? The answer is to be found in a large design which was made a short time before the foundation medal and which is now in the Roman State Archives (Fig. 11).¹⁵ On the left-hand side of the sheet is a papal *chirografo* dated November 16, 1661 (the text of which is not shown in the illustration) whereby the execution of the design was officially sanctioned. By comparing this drawing with the design on the medal, one can see that although Rainaldi seems to have intended the drawing to be the final and definitive design, and although as such it received the papal confirmation, by the time the medal design appeared some important modifications had been made in the elevation of both buildings, notably by replacing the attached columns by a portico of isolated columns and by substituting concave outer compartments for the convex. But as in both churches the proportions between the dome and the lower structure remained unchanged, it is evident that in neither case could the general lines of the ground plan have been altered. Because of this both churches as shown on the medal would have had to be based on the plan of a Greek cross.

For what reason then did Rainaldi, even after the foundation stone was laid, make

all'occhio più perfetto parsa sarebbe per la vicinanza del Circolo, e suseguente migliore sarebbe stata la Cuppola in riguardo all'avanzo nella resega del Cornicione quale permetteva la Rotondità perfetta et ottangolare." Copy in Rome, Corsini 35 H 10, Inv. 37122. 39.8×26.9 cm. Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 51, and Coudenhove-Erthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38, did not recognize the critical intentions of the Fontana project and were led consequently to wrong conclusions.

14. Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta published in *Il Messaggero* of April 9, 1926, a letter from Rainaldi to Mons. Gastaldi, unfortunately undated, concerning the completion of the foundation medal. The medal, the author of which is G. F. Travani, has been occasionally reproduced in modern literature, last by F. Dworschak in *Jahrbuch d. preuss. Kunstsg.*, LV (1934), p. 37, pl. III, 3. There exist two obviously simultaneous issues of the foundation medal, dated 1662: the one issue showing on the reverse the inscription on a scroll above: "Sapientia in plateis

dat vocam suam," below: "MDCLXII;" the other showing the same inscription without a scroll, and below, instead of the date: "Eq. Carolus Rainaldus Inventor."

15. Cartella 81, R. 279. Left half-sheet, not reproduced here, with the *chirografo* of Alexander VII of November 16, 1661. On the left of our illustration: ground plan of the whole square with the adjoining streets; on the right: ground plan and elevation of one of the two churches which according to this project were to correspond exactly. Coloured pen-and-ink drawing. Size of the whole sheet: 525×750 mm. (right-hand part which is here reproduced 525×420 mm). In the ground plan of the site the existing structures are colored brown and the proposed alterations violet. The *chirografo* deals with the purchase of the ground site. The churches are to be constructed "nel modo e forma contenuta, et esposta nella sopra designata Pianta...."

extensive changes in the ground plans? One must seek for the explanation in the nature of Rainaldi's task. In this matter the architect was first and foremost a town-builder (Fig. 12). It was a question of creating a worthy forecourt to receive the traveler entering Rome by the Porta del Popolo. From here, three main streets radiate through the city between the Pincio and Tiber. The decisive point in the planning of the square would be the front elevation of the two blocks of houses between the radiating streets. The idea was to correct the lines of the wide thoroughfare, where the aspect from the Porta del Popolo was of supreme importance. The effectiveness of this aspect would depend on two facts, first on an absolute symmetry, and secondly on the fact that the central features in the line of vision, i. e. the two domes, were as vast as possible. But these essential conditions were not easily attained, and it was a slow process to find the correct solution. Rainaldi had first to attack the problem of symmetry. Before he began his work, the blocks of houses stretched out into the square in varying length and breadth (Fig. 12). To bring the façades into line on the square was not a matter of great difficulty, but the difference in breadth could not be altogether eliminated. The design in the State Archives shows very clearly not only the situation as it was, but in addition by what means Rainaldi sought to equalize the irregularities of the site. It also shows that the alterations to the square should not be confined to the south side alone, but that, as was inevitable in the Rome of the Seicento, the design of the whole square would have to be changed. The idea of correcting the irregular aspect of this important Piazza was no new one and dates doubtless from the time of the erection of the obelisk under Sixtus V.¹⁶

The plan by Rainaldi in the State Archives makes it clear that in two other sheets (Figs. 13, 14) we have his preliminary drafts for the re-designing of the church site and the square. The first of these, a large plan¹⁷ which to judge by the character of the work (pencil and heavy sepia lines) is by Rainaldi himself, consists of a drawing in ink of the existing situation, with pencil additions showing Rainaldi's proposed alterations. The second sheet (Fig. 14), depicting the south side of the square only, is drawn to scale and has detailed inscriptions.¹⁸ It is an elaboration of the first sheet by Rainaldi's own hand. From this sketch one can see very clearly how greatly the two blocks vary in width and that the further they extend from the front the greater this difference becomes. These facts are only shown exactly in the new material, which is here published.¹⁹

So much for the question of symmetry which, as one can see, was very essential and had to be solved before the planning of the churches could be started. When once the proportions of the two sites had been as far as possible assimilated, it was not difficult to build two symmetrical churches. A plan in the form of a Greek cross

16. In the Roman State Archives (Cart. 81, R. 278) there is a large pen-and-ink drawing to scale of the Piazza (815 × 420 mm.) before the erection of the obelisk, i. e. before 1589, which clearly depicts definite proposals for the re-organization of the site. The character of the drawing as well as that of the handwriting suggests that it was made at the end of the sixteenth century, and the idea itself indicates that period of re-organization under Sixtus V. It

probably arose in connection with the transference of the obelisk.

17. Codex Vaticanus lat. 13442, f. 34r. 509 × 354 mm.

18. Vatican Library, cod. Chig. P VII 10, f. 26r. Brown ink. 271 × 390 mm. The sheet is pasted into this volume of drawings.

19. Nearly all the published town plans, both old and new, eliminate the relatively small differences in size, but in the Maggi plan (Fig. 12) they can be clearly seen.

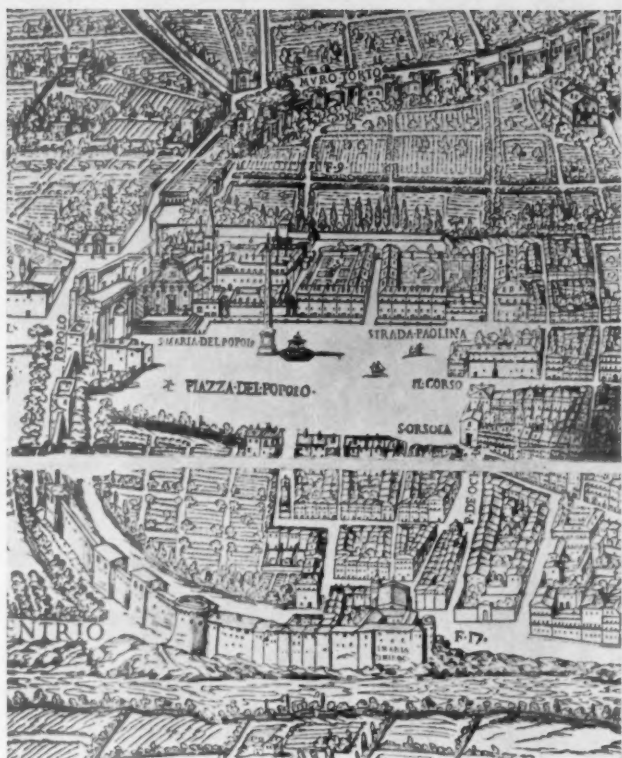


FIG. 12—*Piazza del Popolo* (Detail of *Pianta di Roma* of Maggi-Maudin-Losi, 1616-21)

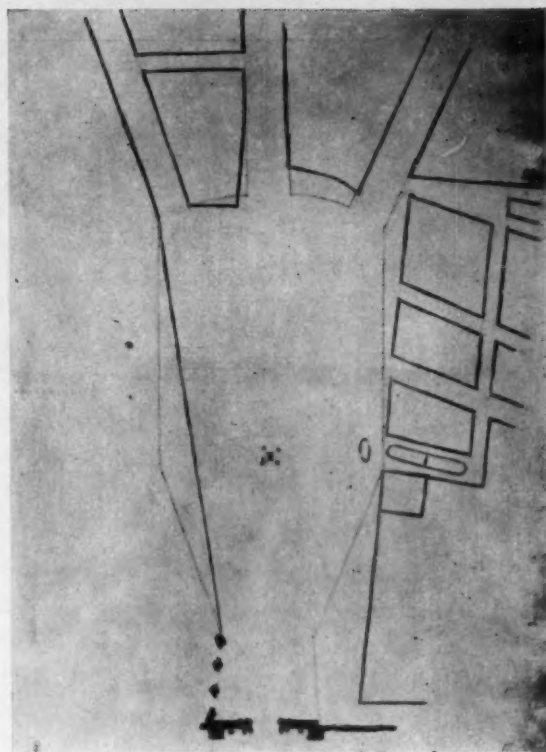


FIG. 13—*Drawing by Carlo Rainaldi of
Piazza del Popolo*

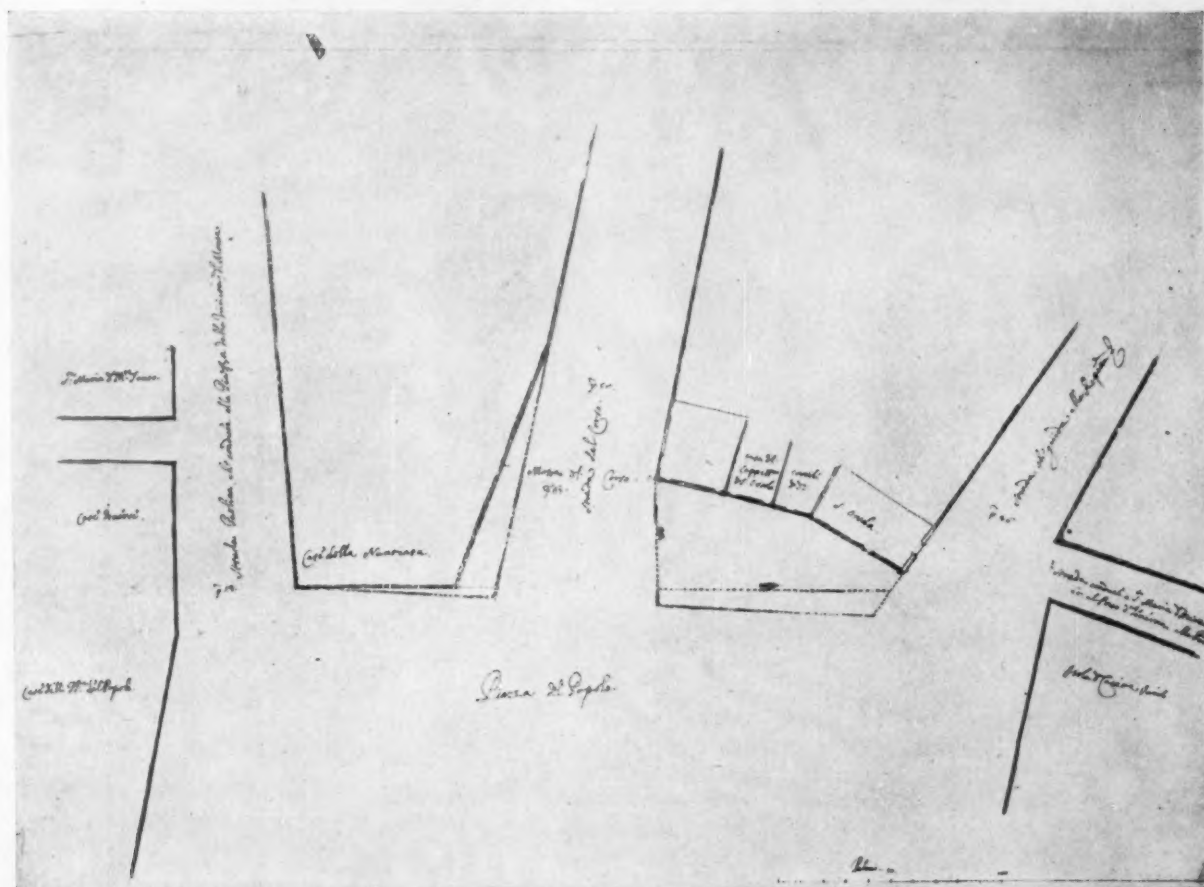


FIG. 14—*Drawing by Carlo Rainaldi of South Side of Piazza del Popolo*

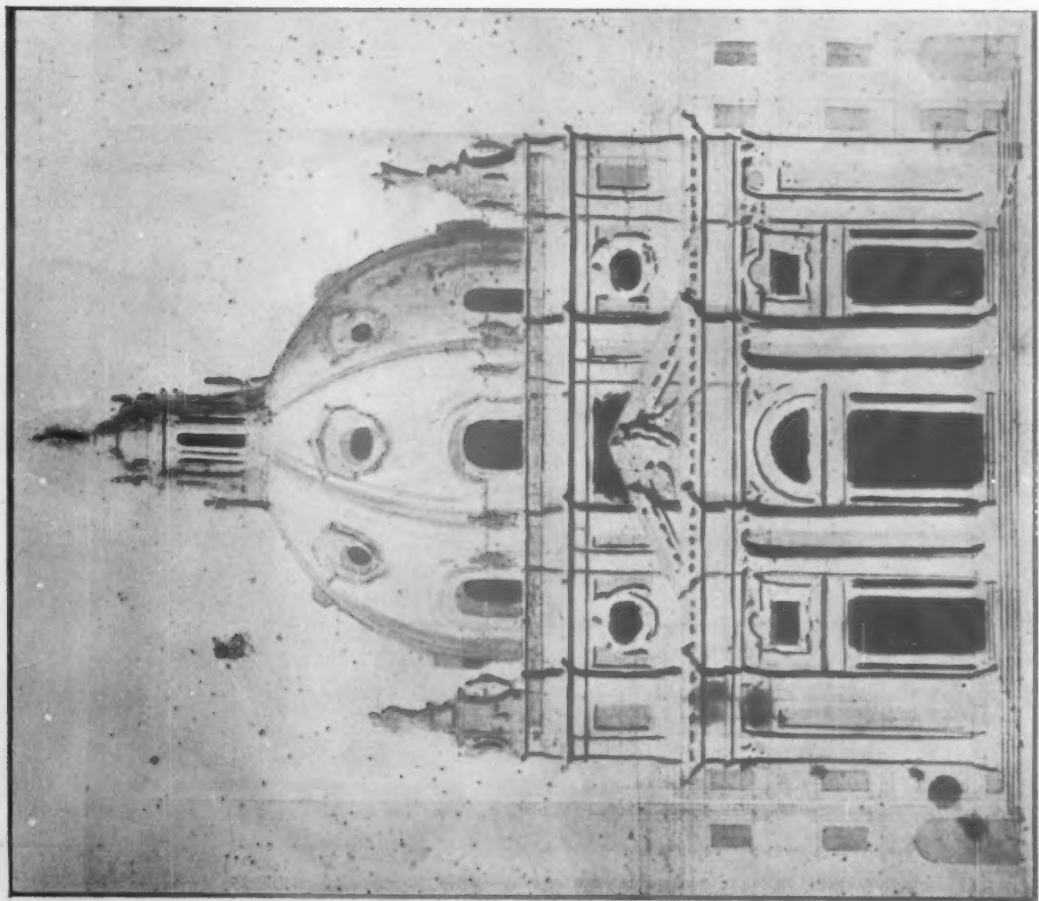


FIG. 15—Project by Carlo Rainaldi for S. Agnese in Piazza Navona, 1652

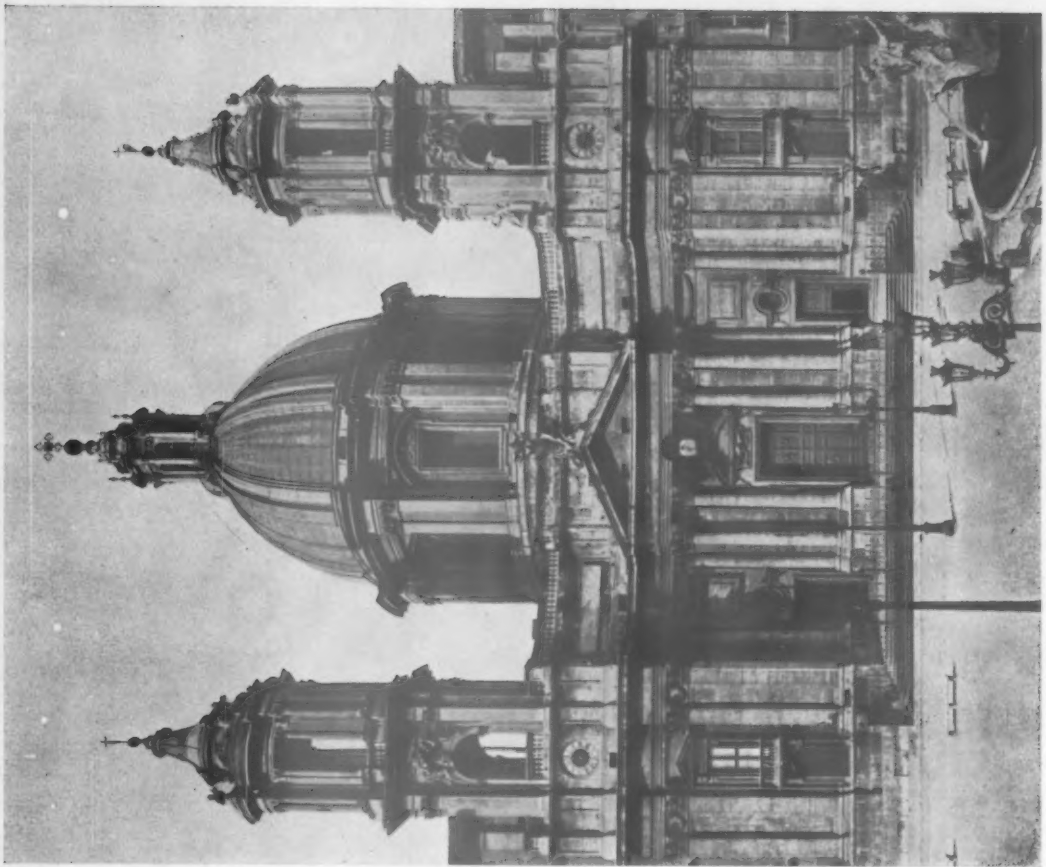


FIG. 16—Rome: Façade of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona

was the simplest solution. The difference in the diameters of the two buildings could be equalized by transepts and chapels slightly unequal in depth, while the domes of both churches would be equal in size, which was essential for a symmetrical impression. This was still the position when the foundation medal was struck.

It was the desire to enlarge the domes to the greatest possible extent which made the subsequent alterations necessary. That enlargement could only be accomplished by abandoning the ground plan of a Greek cross in favour of that of a circle, where the dome would extend to the full width of the available space. But such a solution would have meant that the diameter of the dome of S. Maria di Monte Santo, the church erected on the narrower site, would be considerably smaller than that of S. Maria de' Miracoli. As this would have been inconsistent with the idea of complete symmetry in the exterior aspect, there was no other solution but to erect S. Maria di Monte Santo over the plan of an elongated oval. Only by thus placing the diameter of the dome further back, at a wider point in the wedge-shaped site, could the aspect of the domes from the square give the impression of identity of size and form. It is clear therefore that the circular ground plan which was finally adopted in the case of S. Maria de' Miracoli—the plan for which alone Rainaldi is usually held to be responsible—inevitably necessitated the adoption of an oval ground plan in the case of S. Maria di Monte Santo: they are the complimentary halves of one idea.

But although it must be assumed that both ground plans in their actual form belong to the first building period under Rainaldi (a fact which is in agreement with the written documents), yet at the same time we have to admit that the idea which inspired this solution was very akin to Bernini. The illusion produced upon the spectator, who, viewing the churches from the square (where alone both domes can be seen simultaneously),²⁰ sees the round and the oval dome as equal, can be traced back to that subjective principle which maintains that reality is to be found not so much in the fact as in the impression produced on the spectator.²¹ This is a characteristic feature of Bernini's psychological approach to architecture, which led him, even at the inception of a plan to work always with a view to the situation and onlooker.²²

Rainaldi did not, however, adopt this attitude of Bernini spontaneously, but he was influenced here by his assistant, Carlo Fontana. Up to the present the position of the young Fontana in Rainaldi's studio has attracted very little attention.²³ But many facts illustrate it, and it may even be shown that Rainaldi was, though in a constantly varying degree, dependent on his youthful assistant. This was due

20. The towers were erected only in the eighteenth century, but their existence is in harmony with Rainaldi's conception. They block the view of the domes from the Corso and give a clear indication from which point of view the churches should be seen.

21. Rainaldi's original solution (the foundation medal project) was the result of an objective consideration: the domes can only appear equally large if they are really identical in size. Another deliberate optical illusion can be found in the façades. Owing to the exigencies of the site the façade of S. Maria di Monte Santo had to be 90 cm. less than that of the other church. But the fact that the

façade appears to terminate with the outer orders on each side and that by an unnoticeable extension of the wall beyond the outer orders the measurement between these orders was in both cases identical made it possible to conceal the actual disparity in size.

22. See Brauer-Wittkower, *Die Handzeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini*, 1931, pp. 102, 159. Also *Kritische Berichte*, 1931/2, p. 144.

23. Coudenhove-Erthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27, confines himself to the remark: "Fontana duerfte sich zuerst bei Rainaldi als Hilfskraft betaetigt haben."

not so much to Fontana's artistic capacity as to his intimate knowledge of Bernini's style and principles.

The collaboration of Rainaldi with Fontana during these years will be proved later from documents. Meanwhile one must notice a plan (Fig. 4) which is even earlier than that in the State Archives (Fig. 11) and which could never have been made without Fontana's influence. This distinct and detailed drawing of the two churches,²⁴ in style almost a picture, was undoubtedly meant to give Alexander VII a clear representation of the new buildings. It concludes therefore a long series of preliminary drafts and sketches. The serene semicircular domes rise above a flatly modeled tambour with a strongly emphasized unbroken cornice dividing tambour and dome into two separate structures. Behind this rather unimaginative design lies a feeling for stability and harmonious proportion quite foreign to Rainaldi but typical of Fontana.²⁵

The design of the façades in the sketch is certainly more authentically Rainaldi's than that of the domes. For the inner coupled pilasters fulfill a dual function:²⁶ the triangular pediment links them together as the frame of the middle unit, and the eye therefore demands that the outer units be similarly enframed, which is not the case; they have only an outer and no inner boundary. If one could disregard the pediment, the inner pilasters would fall into line with the outer pilasters, and the façade would become a simple alternation of order and wall. But the pediment at once reasserts itself and this produces a constantly shifting emphasis. By this simple device an impression of fluctuation and of a flowing unstable movement is produced, very characteristic of Rainaldi's individual architectural conceptions, which differ fundamentally from Fontana's principles.

In the second stage, the plan in the State Archives (Fig. 11), the Fontana element in the design of the dome has largely disappeared. Instead of the serene circular form one finds an octagonal dome with massive ribs. Large decorative scrolls unite the base of the dome with the attic below, with the result that through the diminishing of the functional significance of the tambour, the weight of the dome seems to bear directly on the lower structure—another example of the functional ambiguity characteristic of Rainaldi's style. The alterations of the lower structure—the replacement of the pilasters by columns and the fact that the outer divisions are convex and slope backwards—serve to emphasize the town-planning intention of the first project (Fig. 4). This intention is made clear by the fact that in the drawing of that project the perspective of the streets extends to the horizon. The idea of the artist was to preserve the impression of cubic mass in the two blocks of buildings, a tendency which in the second project becomes even more emphasized by the greater plasticity and the shieldlike bending of the outer units of the two façades. By this means the wedges of buildings seem to advance into the square with compelling force. On the

24. Vatican Library, cod. Chig. P VII 13, f. 26v/7. For the character of the different volumes of the Chigiana with drawings and plans see: Brauer-Wittkower, *Zeichnungen des G. L. Bernini*, 1931, pp. 11-12.

25. For other domes by Fontana see, for instance, the design for the decoration of the Colosseum, and the Jesuit Church in Loyola in Spain. See reproductions in Coudenhove-Erthal, *op. cit.*, pls. 6-8.

26. For the conception and significance of dual function, see *Art Bulletin*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 208 ff.

traveler entering through the Porta del Popolo it would have made almost an aggressive impression. The façades, on the other hand, of the design on the medals (Fig. 9), with which the final construction in the main corresponds, reflect quite another disposition. Here the concave wall divisions and the tetra-prostyle express welcome and invitation. While in the two earlier plans the lines of houses seem to converge on the massive structure, in the final plan everything is conceived with a view to the potential spectator and all is designed to draw him into the spell of the long receding streets. From what has been already said one can easily guess to whose influence this new orientation is due. As to the tetra-prostyle, its model can of course be found in the forecourt of the Pantheon and in the prostyle which Michelangelo planned for St. Peter's. But, and this is a point of decisive importance, there is a plan of Bernini's in 1659, to erect a portico consisting of *four* columns in front of the Maderno façade of St. Peter's.²⁷ Carlo Fontana was Bernini's assistant for many years in the planning of St. Peter's Square, and the fact that the type of classical temple façade, which was never put into execution in the case of St. Peter's, was realized in the construction of the churches in the Piazza del Popolo, must be attributed to him. The pure lines of this classical portico are as far removed as possible from Rainaldi's architectural conceptions. It is this motive which gives to the two façades an appearance very characteristic of Bernini.²⁸

When Bernini actually took over the construction of the churches in 1671 the only thing that remained to be done was to abolish the high attic of Rainaldi's design so that the pediment regained its plasticity, and so attained its full classical value.²⁹

The various stages in the development of the plans can be summarized as follows: (1) The plan in the Chigiana (Fig. 4) with a dome on classical lines, characteristic of Fontana. (2) The plan in the State Archives (Fig. 11). Here Rainaldi's conception of functional ambiguity which was expressed previously only in the façade, was applied to the zone of the dome. At both stages the conception as regards town planning is essentially the same: the focus is objective, i. e. on the lines of houses and street perspective. (3) The project of the medals (Fig. 9). A new orientation appears in town planning. The stand-point is subjective, i. e. that of the spectator. The tetra-prostyle is in the style of Bernini but the tambour and dome express Rainaldi's architectural principles of the second stage. (4) A further alteration in the design, between the laying of the foundation stone and the commencement of the work. In order to enhance their effect in the city landscape, the volume of the two domes is increased, which entails a re-forming of the ground plans on a pseudo-symmetrical basis, a second concession to the subjectivism of Bernini. (5) The abolition of the attic behind the pediment during the completion of the work by Bernini in accordance with his

27. In the Maderno ground plan of St. Peter's shown in the engraving by de Greuter in 1613, Bernini with hasty pencil strokes has added the four isolated columns. The engraving is in cod. Chig. P VII 9, f. 30. Further material relating to this matter in Brauer-Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-4, pl. 61, 164b.

28. From its appearance Dagobert Frey, *Architettura Barocca* (Rome-Milan, Società Editrice d'Arte Illustrata), p. 47, even concluded that the portico was erected by Bernini himself when he took over the construction.

29. For the divergent functions of the pediment as conceived by Bernini and Rainaldi see below, note 38.

three-dimensional conceptions. This defines approximately the main lines in the history of the building of the churches and their significance in the œuvre of Rainaldi. In order to follow the above analysis one must be aware of the conflict between two different architectural conceptions and of their extraordinary intermingling, crossing, and overlapping. Before, however, we examine the interior of both churches more closely, it is advisable to approach the problems before us from another side.

S. AGNESE IN PIAZZA NAVONA

A large plan for the building of S. Agnese (Fig. 15) was first by Egger,³⁰ and later by Hempel,³¹ attributed to Girolamo, the father of Carlo Rainaldi, but it reveals without any doubt the authorship of Carlo Rainaldi himself. It can be dated 1652 and is closely related to the design made ten years later for the churches on the Piazza del Popolo (Fig. 4). The treatment of the large order corresponds exactly with the design in the Chigiana: the division into double columns or double pilasters surmounted by a broken entablature, and a pediment over the central orders. In the design for S. Agnese the columns, in superseding the pilasters, naturally produce a concentration towards the center, but this increase in quantitative value, as between pilaster and column, is largely neutralized by the fact that the wall to which they are attached does not participate in this movement but remains in one plane only so that pilaster and column appear as co-ordinated values.³² Because of this arrangement the impression of ambiguity is still greater in the design of S. Agnese than in the two later churches.

It has been observed that Rainaldi was inspired here by the design of St. Peter's (Fig. 79),³³ but in every respect his design shows alterations pointing in a new direction. In St. Peter's the graduation of the orders is emphasized by corresponding protrusions of the wall behind,³⁴ while in S. Agnese the wall remains neutral. The attic, which in the case of St. Peter's is already too high for an impression of harmonious classical proportion, is in Rainaldi's design carried to a still more disproportionate height. Rainaldi also entirely omits the tambour of the dome; it is true that in St. Peter's, after the later construction of the nave, the tambour became practically invisible at a short distance from the church, but the structural incongruity which in the case of St. Peter's is merely apparent, would have been in S. Agnese an objective reality.

Rainaldi's plan was never carried out.³⁵ A year after the commencement of the building he was superseded by Borromini (August 7, 1653), who completely revised the designs. When Rainaldi ten years later had to erect S. Maria in Campitelli, he reassented the principles of his plan for St. Agnese, although the foundation medal of S. Maria in Campitelli (Fig. 45) shows several modifications inspired by contem-

30. *Architektonische Handzeichnungen*...., Vienna 1910, pl. 28. After the war this sheet was transferred from the Hofbibliothek to the Albertina in Vienna.

31. *Rainaldi*...., p. 34, and also by the same, *Borromini*, Vienna, 1924, pl. 88, 2.

32. For Rainaldi's equalization in value of pilaster and column, see below p. 258.

33. Hempel, *Borromini*, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

34. For the system of articulation in the façade of St. Peter's see below p. 258.

35. All details of the history of the construction are published by Hempel, *Borromini*, pp. 138 ff.

porary ideas. In the actually existing façade of S. Maria we can still see the original combination of small and colossal orders. The circumstances in which Rainaldi in the year 1657 again succeeded Borromini have been fully described by Hempel. The façade (Fig. 16) had by then reached the crowning cornice and it was from this point onwards that Rainaldi set out to rectify Borromini's design. In a project of Borromini's³⁶ which can be only slightly earlier than his final and unknown design, the attic and pediment are represented other than they actually are in the existing building. In this sketch a low balustrade runs along the top cornice, and over the center appear *pentimenti* which show that Borromini's conceptions were still indefinite. But their realization would obviously have implied an exaggerated heightening of the center, such as indeed he had already planned in his first design (Fig. 18).³⁷ The high attic of the present building which imperfectly, because of the horizontal panels, continues the vertical lines of the façade is as little expressive of Borromini's architectural style as is its unsubstantial, cardboardlike appearance and its proportional relation to the top story of the façade. These are features essentially typical of Rainaldi. Also the unbroken triangular pediment, with its classical aspect, would have been an unparalleled feature in Borromini's work and would have seemed to him uncongenial. To be sure, this classical formula certainly does not correspond either to Rainaldi's treatment of detail. But considering that the work on the *campanili* of the building did not begin until about 1666 and that in consequence the attic and pediment were probably erected not earlier than the sixties, the classicism of the pediment may well be derived from the same source as the idea of the tetra-prostyle of the churches on the Piazza del Popolo.

Thus, three quite distinct artistic tendencies can be traced in the façade of S. Agnese. The fantastic and dynamic accentuation of the center originally planned by Borromini, who designed the curving lines of the ground story, is transformed into the Berninesque classicism of the pediment which, being placed flat before Rainaldi's attic wall, loses the solid sculptural value of Bernini's own compositions.³⁸

In view of this situation one cannot simply speak of the influence of "Borromini's" façade of S. Agnese on the design for the churches on the Piazza del Popolo—an observation which ignores the complications of the St. Agnese design. But one can certainly say that the alteration of the outer sections to a concave form in the case of these churches was directly inspired by the design which Borromini contributed to S. Agnese.

36. Sheet in the Albertina. Published by Hempel, *op. cit.*, pl. 90.

37. Design for the foundation medal in the Albertina. Published by Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

38. With Rainaldi the pediment, standing as it always does in front of a flat wall surface, is merely a linear expression of emphasis and concentration, while with Bernini it forms the apex of the building and has therefore a sculptural character. As to this, compare Bernini's whole work from his S. Andrea al Quirinale and the churches in Castel Gandolfo and Ariccia up to the pediments of the colonnades of St. Peter's. It is also most informative to compare Bernini's design for the apse of S. Maria Maggiore

with the building as actually executed by Rainaldi. Rainaldi's apse stands against the plain decorative wall of the attic whereas in Bernini's project the entire structure is one dynamic entity of utmost sculptural value. For both projects see *Bernini Zeichnungen*, loc. cit., pp. 163/5. Hempel, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff., already pointed out modifications of Borromini's plan in the region of the pediment; on pp. 150 ff. he deals further with modifications of the design in the towers and lantern. The author of a so far unpublished drawing in cod. Chig. P VII 9, f. 85—probably Giovanni Maria Baratta, who designed the towers—in his design of the region of the pediment, makes a clumsy attempt to mediate between Rainaldi and Borromini (Fig. 19).

S. ANDREA DELLA VALLE

In our first example, the churches on the Piazza del Popolo, we found a structure designed by Rainaldi but profoundly affected by Bernini's architectural ideas; in our second example, S. Agnese, a façade by Borromini transfigured by Rainaldi during his Berninesque period. We now come to a still more complicated case, the façade of S. Andrea, the history of which gives a definite idea of Fontana's position in Rainaldi's studio.

Carlo Maderno, the first builder of S. Andrea, published an engraving of his design for the façade in 1624 (Fig. 22).³⁹ The consistency with which the orders are graded to correspond to the wall protrusions distinguishes his façade for S. Susanna, but does not recur in the works that followed. Already in the façade of St. Peter's (Fig. 79) a few years later, the breaking of the entablature above the pilasters which enclose the outer compartments with the niches is an inconsistency. The design for S. Andrea, which followed that for S. Susanna by almost a generation, represents another important step in the same direction, i. e. the rejection of a composition developed consistently on several planes. In the ground story indeed the artist has made the wall units project clearly on three planes, though he has abandoned the finely differentiated gradation of orders and decoration of S. Susanna; but the arrangement of the upper story follows quite a different system. The four coupled columns with their respective entablatures are attached to a wall in one plane only and are equal in value; Maderno's principle here is simply one of serial sequence. The two stories are therefore not based on a homogeneous conception. Instead of the unity of S. Susanna, we have in this late work the incongruity of a hybrid composition.⁴⁰

When Carlo Rainaldi took over the construction of the building he had no longer a free hand. The socle of the ground story had already been erected in accordance with Maderno's design. Rainaldi's intentions can be inferred from a design by his hand (Fig. 20).⁴¹ His alterations of the Maderno design were in two directions. He had first of all to satisfy an imperative demand of contemporary taste. In the second half of the seventeenth century a vertical unification of the two stories was always aimed at and to this end the entablature above each order is broken, thus forcing the eye to connect the pedestals of the upper order with the cornices of the order below. As a result, the top pediment, together with the outer columns by which it is borne, appears as enframing the middle motive, graded and verticalized in its turn. The vertical movement of the two motives one within the other, is further accentuated by the

39. For the façade of S. Andrea della Valle see Baglione, *Le Vite de' Pittori*.... Naples, 1733, p. 197; Baldinucci, *Notizie*...., ed. 1847, V, p. 330; A. Boni, *La Chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle in Roma. Numero speciale della Illustrazione Cattolica*, March 21, 1907, pp. 6 ff.; Hempel, *Rainaldi*, pp. 54 ff.; Dagobert Frey, in *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, III (1924), p. 35; A. Muñoz, *Carlo Maderno (Bibl. d'Arte Illustrata, Serie I, Fasc. 12)*, pp. 9 f.; S. Ortolani, *S. Andrea della Valle (Chiese di Roma Illustrate, No. 4)*, 1923, pp. 7. ff.; G. Giovannoni, *Saggi sulla Architettura del rinascimento*, Milan, 1931, pp. 211 ff., 233; Caffisch, in Thieme-Becker, s. v. *Maderno*,

XXIII, p. 531 and Caffisch, *Maderno*, 1934, pp. 50 ff. Copy of the engraving in Rome, Corsiniana 47 H 7 Inv. 71588 (566×343 mm.). The engraving later published in the work of Giacomo de Rossi, *Insignium Romae Templorum prospectus*, Rome, 1684, pl. 44.

40. For the analysis of S. Susanna see: *Art Bulletin*, 1934, p. 209.

41. Cod. Chig. P VII 9, f. 91v/92r (58), 745×519 mm. Colored pen and ink. Below on the right-hand margin the original signature: "Rainaldi." Fig. 20 does not include the signature. This drawing already published by Caffisch, *op. cit.*, fig. 27.



FIG. 17—*Foundation Medal of S. Andrea della Valle (Carlo Rainaldi's Project). 1662-3*



FIG. 18—*Project by Borromini for S. Agnese in Piazza Navona*



FIG. 19—*Plan by Giovanni Maria Baratta (?) for S. Agnese in Piazza Navona*

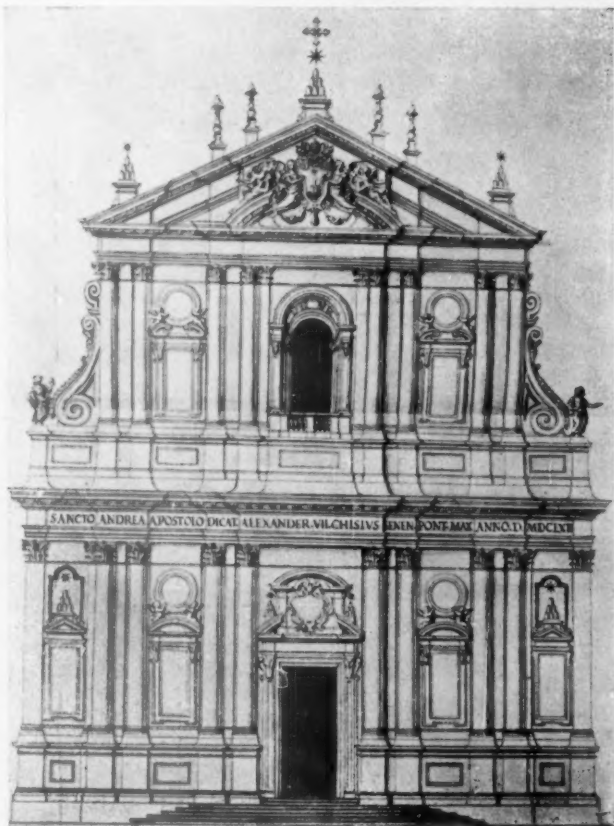


FIG. 20—*Project by Carlo Rainaldi for Façade of S. Andrea della Valle. 1662*



FIG. 21—*Rome: Façade of S. Andrea della Valle, by Maderno, C. Rainaldi, and Fontana. 1624-9, 1662-5*

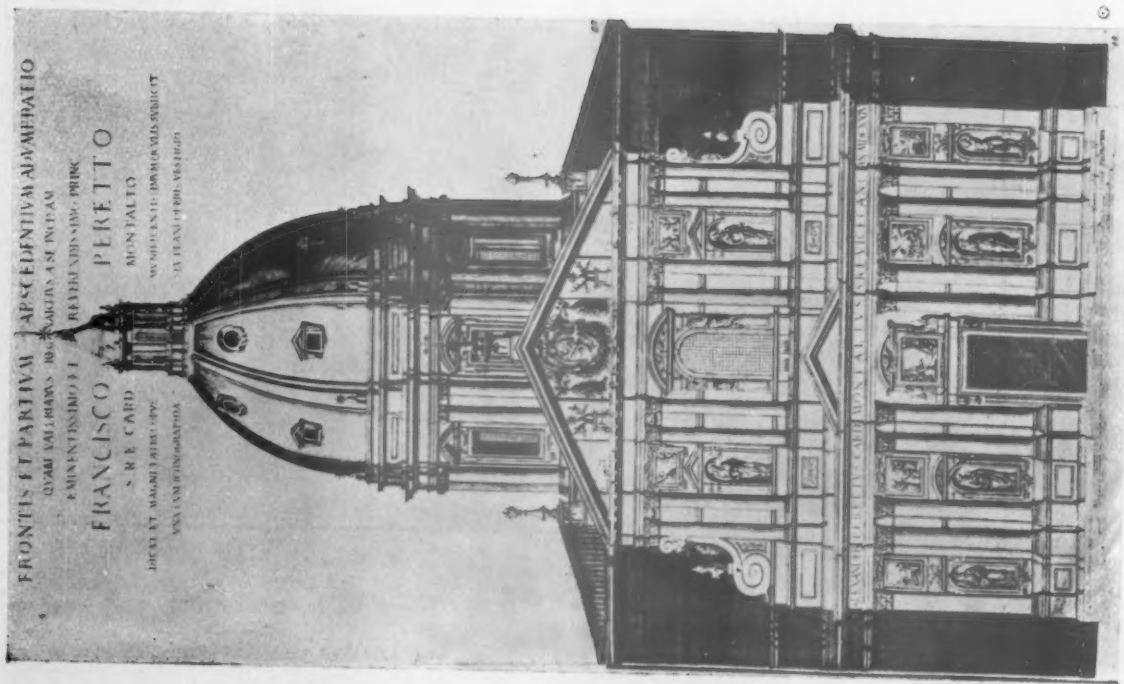


FIG. 22—Project by Maderno for Façade of S. Andrea della Valle. 1624

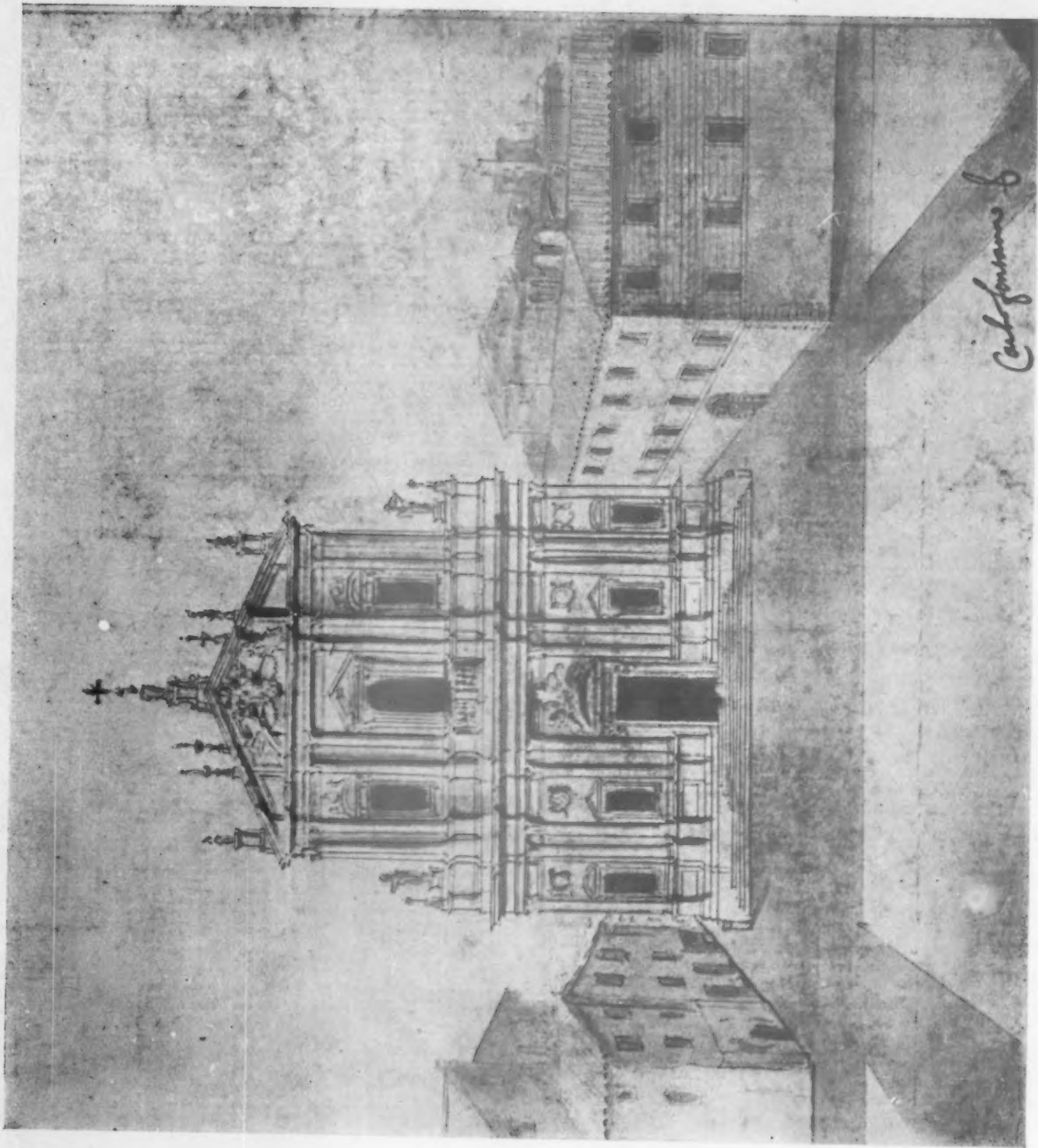


FIG. 23—Project by Fontana for S. Andrea della Valle

broken entablature above the outer pilasters in the lower story, whereby the vertical lines are carried up on each side to the crowning figure. But on the basis of this Full-Baroque conception of unity and verticality, Rainaldi was able to develop his own principle of ambiguity. Every sequence of divisions demands to be taken also in a horizontal sense. But because of the breaking of the entablature, the outer pilaster is no longer the symmetrical counterpart of the inner half pilaster, as is the case in Maderno's design, but is equivalent to the column which follows. This qualitative co-ordination of pilaster and column we found to be a typical expression of the principle of ambiguity.⁴² In the upper story the entablature above the third column on either side continues the entablature of the central pediment and does not balance the entablature above the second column on either side, though both columns serve as parallel boundaries to the unit between them. In other words: the apparent inclusion of the inner columns in the central motive contradicts their function of delimiting the adjacent outer panel.

Rainaldi's suggested alterations of the Maderna design were not carried out according to this plan. The ambiguous elements which he introduced in his drawing, were eliminated in the actual building (Fig. 21). The outer pilasters of the ground story have no broken entablature and the entablature over the third column of the upper story is no longer a continuation of the cornice of the pediment.

The other modifications of Rainaldi's design point also in the same direction and affect every part of the building. (1) A greater severity in the treatment of detail: the illusionistic effect of the central window and the broken segmental gables over the side niches of the upper story as well as over the door are rejected and the massive scrolls are replaced by a logical restatement in the upper story of the half-pilasters below. (2) A simplification of framework and mouldings: the attic is placed at a right angle on the cornice of the lower story and rectangular plinths are substituted in both stories for the concave form which softened the transitions. (3) A separation of the ornamental dressings from the architectural composition: incongruous combinations, such as that of the niches with the Chigi arms (on the outer panels of the ground story) are discarded, and the gables have their full architectural value; over the central door, the broken segmental gable intersecting with the enframed cartouche is likewise replaced by the large and plain pediment motive. (4) A complete freedom in the decorative sculpture: the *putti* bearing palms and medallions are now to be seen flying freely in mid-air. (5) Harmonious proportions and a rhythmical alteration: the upper story is now made almost equivalent to the lower, both by increasing the height of the columns and by placing the balustrade of the middle window not above but within the attic, so that it is quite clear that the attic forms part of the upper story.⁴³

In Rainaldi's design, the gables in the three middle compartments in each story

42. The inconsistency is still more accentuated here by the existence of the half-pilasters, which must have been inherited from the Maderno design.

43. Rainaldi in his design simply included the existing window of Maderno. The executed window appears to have no connection with the Maderno window although in reality this has not been altered. The window opens above the "attic" and the balcony

is placed in front of a blank wall so that it cannot be reached. Close observation however reveals the semicircular window of Maderno behind the present rectangular window frame. Here again one can see the exact point at which the subjective, psychological principle, which we noticed in the churches on the Piazza del Popolo, supersedes the "objective" conception, characteristic of Rainaldi.

were developed from the circular form, and the triangular form was reserved solely for the outermost compartments of the ground story—a further indication of the manner in which Rainaldi intended his design to be interpreted. In the actual building, on the other hand, we find the classical conception of a rhythmical alternation of segment and triangle, so that every tabernacle falls into place in a compact design of logical correspondences. A diagram will show clearly how the draft and the completed façade differ:

(a: segmental gable; b: triangular gable):

Design	Façade
b	b
a	a
a a a	a b a
a	a b a b a
b a a a b	

From our previous experiment, we may guess that this purposeful alteration of Rainaldi's design was the work of Carlo Fontana. The conjecture here becomes a certainty because a design signed "Carlo Fontana" exists (Fig. 23)⁴⁴ which shows the alterations of Rainaldi's design almost exactly as we have described them and which therefore must have been the model for the design of the foundation medal of 1662 (Fig. 17)⁴⁵ and for the actual construction.

Here we have documentary proof that Fontana although only an assistant actually corrected a design by his master. Fontana had Rainaldi's design before him, but in some respects altered its physiognomy in a diametrically opposite sense. The tendency of these changes is away from Rainaldi's ambiguous forms towards the Berninesque classicism of Fontana, which—in the final construction of the building—was almost invariably accepted by Rainaldi. The present façade of S. Andrea therefore embodies

44. Bibl. Vaticana, cod. Chig. P VII 9, f. 90 (57). Signature in Fontana's own writing: "Carlo Fontana f." The same technique of colored pen and ink can be seen in a great number of Fontana's drawings. We reproduce only a detail of the much larger sheet on the left side of which is represented an extensive ground plan of the site. Coudenhove-Erthal, *op. cit.*, p. 27, was acquainted with this sheet and held therefore the clue to the Rainaldi-Fontana problem!

45. The foundation medal was struck during the eighth year of Alexander's pontificate, i. e. between April 7, 1662, and April 6, 1663. Rainaldi's project (Fig. 20) bears in the frieze the date 1662. If then the recommencement of the work may be dated that year, it was finally completed, according to the inscription of the façade, in 1665.

Small but significant divergences between the Fontana project, the medal design, and the completed structure must here be mentioned. In Fontana's project (Fig. 23) the tabernacles in the outer compartments of the chief story are shown with "ears" instead of with the actually existing triglyphs. There is, further, in Fontana's project—still in accordance with both Maderno and Rainaldi—a pillar in the

center of the balustrade of the balcony in the upper story, while in the completed building there is no central motive in the balustrade. Finally—again in accordance with Maderno and Rainaldi—the large center window is made to terminate in a semicircle, while it actually terminates in a straight lintel. The last two features are logical developments of a movement away from the original Maderna design. The details of the executed tabernacle frames, on the other hand, are definitely characteristic of Rainaldi's treatment of details. The fact that Rainaldi wished to assert his ideas as against those of Fontana is also shown by the broken cornice above the outer pilaster of the medal design (Fig. 17), implying hereby a return to the earlier Rainaldi project (Fig. 20). Otherwise the medal design follows that of Fontana slavishly, except that it already represents the central window with straight lintel. It is evident therefore that in spite of the victory of Fontana, Rainaldi was not disposed to give way in all details. The engraving of Falda (in G. G. Rossi, *Il Nuovo Teatro*...., 1665, *Libro I*) reproduces the plan of the medal, but shows at the same time a staircase before the façade in Rainaldi's style, which was not executed, but which was undoubtedly planned by Rainaldi himself.

the form, purified by Carlo Fontana, of a design by Carlo Rainaldi which is itself a modification of a Maderno design.

The historical significance of Fontana as Rainaldi's assistant during the years 1661/2 having now been established, we may ask if the irruption of classicism into Rainaldi's work is really just a sporadic element, due to a transitory outside influence. In other words: are Rainaldi's principles of design so clearly marked over long stretches of time? The answer to this question will be supplied in the chapter on the development of Rainaldi's style. We must now turn to the problems presented by the interior of the churches on the Piazza del Popolo, and to this end we must inquire still further.

THE PROBLEM OF ORIENTATION IN CENTRALLY PLANNED BUILDINGS

The main problem in all Christian church architecture is the formation of the interior. Christianity inherited from antiquity two fundamentally different types: the hall and the central type of building crowned by a dome. Both forms were adopted but employed for separate ends: the hall as the assembling place for the congregation, therefore in reality as the church, the domed form as baptistery and burial chapel.

It is well known that the architects of the Renaissance set out systematically to adapt the circular form of structure to the purposes of an assembling place. Brunelleschi was the initiator with S. Maria degli Angeli (begun in 1434 and never completed). From that time onwards the problem was tackled ever anew. The connection of such a geometric form with such a purpose contained from the outset the elements of conflict.

In the centrally planned building of the Renaissance⁴⁶ all parts are equally grouped around one point. The essential character of such a building consists therefore in a perfect balance between all parts; in other words, it is a building without particular orientation. This is true without exception of all central structures. Up to the second half of the sixteenth century the apparent multiplicity of forms can be resolved into two fundamental types: the simple circular form (or a form developed from the polygonal shape) and the Greek cross, which is a centralized building with four equal arms.⁴⁷

The lack of orientation in both these shapes conflicts irreconcilably with the liturgical requirements of the church.⁴⁸ The altar is the spiritual center of the church and must therefore stand in the most prominent place; in a central structure this is naturally the center, but to place the altar in the center is unusual because of liturgical reasons. For, to take only the most obvious objections, how, with this arrangement is it possible to separate clergy from laity and to secure enough space in front of the altar in which to assemble a large congregation?⁴⁹ An accentuated wall altar is the

46. We are speaking here of central structures up till about 1550. For the new possibilities of expression to be found in Baroque see below pp. 271 ff.

47. The essential differences between these types can be best appreciated in the elevation. The simple circular form (or forms developed from it) carries the dome directly, as in the Pantheon. In buildings of the Greek-cross type, between the lower and the upper structures there is the transitional zone of the pendentives.

48. The most exhaustive treatment, as far as I know, of the whole problem is that by Frankl, *Die Entwicklungsphasen der neueren Baukunst*, 1914, pp. 148 ff. See also Dehio-Bezold, *Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, and Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstils in Italien*, 1886, pp. 58 ff.

49. An attempt was sometimes made to separate clergy from laity by placing a barrier round the altar under the dome. But such an arrangement was only adopted in conjunction with a nave (compare Florence: Cathedral, SS. Annunziata, S. Spirito).

only solution, but such an altar gives an axial direction to the interior which does not accord with the aesthetic laws of a circle. The architects of the Renaissance attempted to solve the problem by not accentuating the wall altars, thus giving full value to the circular form. And we may here mention that although this form of building was not dictated by a liturgical purpose, it was nevertheless an outcome of religious considerations, for the circle was felt to be in itself the most perfect form and therefore the most suitable for the worship of God.

These essential difficulties explain the failure of the central type of building during the Renaissance. Not only did the most important plans never get executed and most of the designs remain fantasies on paper, but nearly all the buildings constructed in this form were felt later to be inadequate.⁵⁰

From the Counter-Reformation onwards liturgical considerations were to the fore. But that did not mean in any sense a general return to the nave structure. One attempted by new architectural means to adapt the central form to liturgical requirements. Before, however, going deeper into the matter, we must review briefly the history of the oval building. It is significant that about the middle of the sixteenth century there was added to the two fundamental types of centralized buildings which have already been mentioned, this third type, a pseudo-circular shape in which there is to a certain extent a line of orientation. Here it is possible to combine a circular and a directional conception without conflict. In the oval structure the line of orientation is merely implied, and the actual lines of the interior still converge on the center of the dome. It is possible for the architect, through the articulation of the wall and the structure of cupola and chapels, to elaborate either one or the other of these two tendencies, and the question which arises is which of them he will develop and which he will suppress.

The evolution of the oval ground plan. The first tentative introduction of the oval form was that of Vignola in S. Andrea in Via Flaminia in about 1552, where an oval dome is erected over an oblong ground plan.⁵¹ The decisive step, however, towards an oval structure was not taken till twenty years later in S. Anna dei Palafrenieri, the last work of Vignola, who died (1573) a year after the completion of the design (Figs. 24, 25). In modern literature one finds a curiously confused account of the construction of this exceedingly important building.⁵² All that one need mention here is that the plan of the structure up to the level of the cornice over the columns is based on Vignola's design, but that the attic, cupola, choir, and façade were completed only much later and with considerable alterations. In the original part of the structure, however, his intentions are clearly to be seen. The columns in the recesses articulate the wall surface in an alternating rhythm of a, b, a, b, a, b, a, b, while the large compartments at each end of the two principal axes are made to correspond to each other by four identical arches between the columns. One is here sensible of an intersection of the two lines of orientation as it were embedded in the oval form; but that in this

50. It is no exaggeration to say that all the Renaissance centralized buildings received accentuated high altars at the time of the Restoration. In many cases long choirs had even been added to the building (such as S. Maria di Loreto and S. Anna de' Palafrenieri in Rome, S. Stefano in Milan).

51. For this building see Willich, *Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola*, 1906, pp. 64 ff., with the elevation and view of the interior.

52. With the help of town plans, old engravings, and guide books the history of the building can be completely reconstructed.



FIG. 24—*Rome : S. Anna dei Palafrenieri, by Vignola. After 1572*

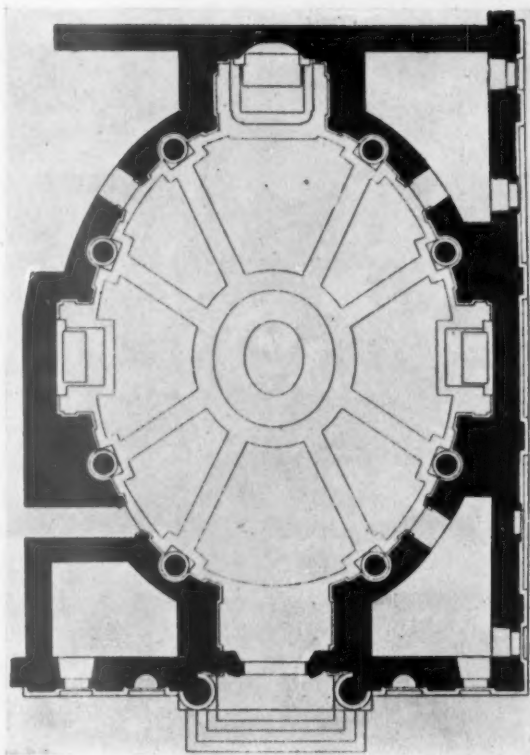


FIG. 25—*Ground Plan of S. Anna dei Palafrenieri, by Vignola*

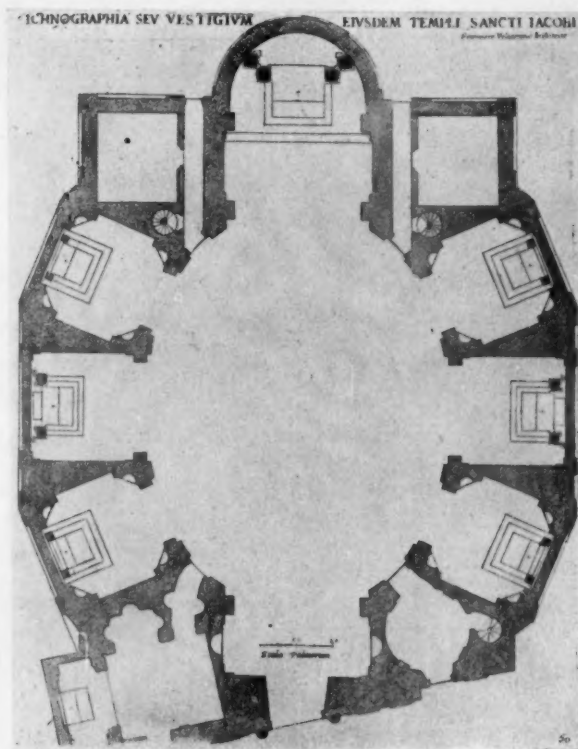


FIG. 26—*Ground Plan of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, by Francesco Volterrano. 1592*



FIG. 27—Rome: *S. Giacomo degli Incurabili* (North Side of Oval), by Francesco Volterrano



FIG. 28—Rome: *S. Giacomo degli Incurabili* (toward Main Altar), by Francesco Volterrano



FIG. 29—Rome: *S. Maria de' Miracoli* (toward Choir), by Carlo Rainaldi

conception the intersecting lines are still subordinate to the circle is made clear by the top cornice, which is carried unbroken right round the oval interior.

The next important step in the same direction was the construction of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili (Figs. 26-28) by the now almost unknown Francesco Volterrano from 1592 onwards.⁵³ The latent tendencies in S. Anna dei Palafrenieri are here clearly developed. By a completely new variation in the design predominance is given to the cross-lines of orientation. The cornice round the interior breaks through the oval at each end of the long axis and is carried round the walls of the choir and entrance bay respectively,⁵⁴ thereby uniting heterogeneous forms of building, so that the whole church must now be seen as one structure with a very definite line of orientation (Fig. 28). But the transverse axis is also accentuated, though in a completely different way to the long axis, by the convergence of lines to the center of each side of the oval (Fig. 27). Each longitudinal half of the oval now forms an enclosed unit of five compartments, articulated in the rhythm usual in a façade design a, b, c, b, a. The zone of the dome too in its design makes it especially clear that in the articulation of the walls opposite one must see a corresponding symmetry and not a rhythmical continuity round an oval, for above each of the two compartments on the transverse axis is an important lunette with a window, corresponding in size to the wall unit and flanked on each side by a smaller lunette. On the long axis, on the other hand, there are no lunettes; on this axis, the vaulted ceiling of the entrance hall, at one end and that of the choir at the other, intrude into the dome. The longitudinal division of the structure into two independent concave parts, is thereby made absolutely clear.

Francesco Volterrano accentuated therefore in the oval structure the line from entrance to altar, but did not carry through this line without a break, for half-way down it is interrupted by the accentuated line of the transverse axis. So here the conflict arising from the crossing of axial lines in a centralized oval form is distinctly evident, with the result that the tension between aim and form (liturgical requirements and spatial law) finds for the first time conscious and visible expression.⁵⁵

The three solutions. In the course of these analyses we have indicated the possible solutions of the conflict latent in the central type of church as such. Before passing on to further investigation, one may say in conclusion that there are two ways of *evading* the conflict. One is to retain the completely enclosed central form, the other, to subordinate the circle so entirely to the axial direction that the impression given

53. His life in Baglione, *Vite de' Pittori*, ed. 1733, p. 45. The building was completed by Carlo Maderno. Caffisch, *Maderna*, 1934, p. 9, dates, on the basis of the documents, the laying of the foundation stone of the façade April 11, 1592, and names as architect Francesco Volterrano. Giovannoni, *Chiese della seconda metà del Cinquecento in Roma* (at first in *L'Arte*, 1912/3; reprinted in *Saggi*..., 1931, pp. 226 ff.), considers Francesco Volterrano a typical reactionary artist of the Renaissance and does not even believe that he was responsible for the ground plan of S. Giacomo, quite clearly against the evidence of the documents. Engravings of the church in G. G. de Rossi, *Insignium Romae Templorum prospectus*, 1684, pl. 59:

longitudinal section; pl. 60: ground plan (Fig. 26). Photographs of the interior of this important church have never been published before.

54. In doing this the artist could refer to the Pantheon, where the vaulting of the entrance and choir intrudes into the high attic of the cylinder. Above, the actual cornice of the dome forms indeed one unbroken circle.

55. This complexity of structure is combined with a conception of detail which is very clear, definite, and restrained. It is just this combination of a complicated, structural conception with a classical conception of detail which is a general characteristic of Roman art about 1590.

by the interior is that of an inflation of the nave. But it is also possible to attack the problem from the opposite side, and instead of suppressing the conflict, to intensify it and make it conscious. This can be achieved by counteracting one axial line by the other, so that the central form which is disintegrated by the accentuation of the long axial line is reconstituted by an emphasis on the transverse line. In the construction of a centrally planned building every architect must, in principle, adopt one of these three solutions.

The Churches on the Piazza del Popolo. If after these observations we turn again to these churches we can see at the first glance—even from the illustrations—that we are dealing with two attempts to solve the problem which are fundamentally different in character. In S. Maria di Monte Santo (Figs. 5, 6) we see the predominance of the long axis. The design is influenced by that of S. Giacomo only in so far as the cornice is likewise carried round the whole building, but there is no distinguishing here of the transverse axis. S. Maria de' Miracoli, on the other hand, follows closely the design of S. Giacomo with its complications. We need not here say much about S. Maria di Monte Santo. Through the design of the elevation which does not at all represent Rainaldi's architectural conceptions we can infer that when Bernini took over the construction the building was not so far advanced that every feature had already been determined. But although the rest of the building is attributed to Bernini, he cannot be held responsible for the details. It seems probable that these were worked out by Mattia de Rossi, Bernini's intimate though not very gifted pupil.⁵⁶

The design of S. Maria de' Miracoli is essentially more complicated than that of S. Maria di Monte Santo.⁵⁷ We find here as in S. Giacomo the breaking of the cornice on the long axis (Fig. 29) and the convergence of the lines of the side walls onto the chapels on the transverse axis (Fig. 30). But the internal conflict is more intensified than in S. Giacomo. The very form of the ground plan—a circle and very long choir (Fig. 7) instead of an oval and short choir as in S. Giacomo—implies conflicting elements. The two chapels also on the transverse axis are made still more prominent even in size. The sharp accentuation of the transverse axis is however due primarily to the aedicula formed by carrying up the line of the pilasters through the projecting entablature to the pediment. Rainaldi was not content to preserve the idea of centralization by the mere accentuation of the transverse axis but he wished also to have the circular form actually sensed. Pilasters with a broken entablature, similar to those on the transverse axis, are placed on the long axis also, where they carry the entrance arch and the arch of the choir respectively.

56. In the guide literature (see above p. 246) the name of Mattia de Rossi does not appear. But in a collection of engravings of 1713 (Gio. Giacomo de Rossi, *Disegni di vari altari e cappelle nelle chiese di Roma*, pls. 30, 31) a longitudinal and transverse section of the choir is represented with the inscription below: "Archit. Mattia de Rossi." But it seems probable that de Rossi's participation is not confined only to the choir and that Fontana's contribution, which is emphasized by the guides, is in reality very small.

In this connection I would recall the fact that Mattia de Rossi created an oval church, S. Galla in

Via Bocca della Verità, which has since been destroyed. In this plan, however, Mattia followed in principle the plan of S. Maria de' Miracoli, i. e. he emphasized the transverse axis. This can be seen from the large plan of Rome by Nolli (ed. Card. F. Ehrle, 1932, No. 1040).

57. The collaboration of Fontana can be clearly recognized. It is the choir which is most markedly stamped with his style (for this see Coudenhove-Erthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.), but it is also unmistakable in the tambour and dome. The style of the lower structure indicates that Rainaldi himself erected the building as far as the tambour.



FIG. 30

Rome: *S. Maria de' Miracoli* (East Wall, and West Wall and Choir), by Carlo Rainaldi

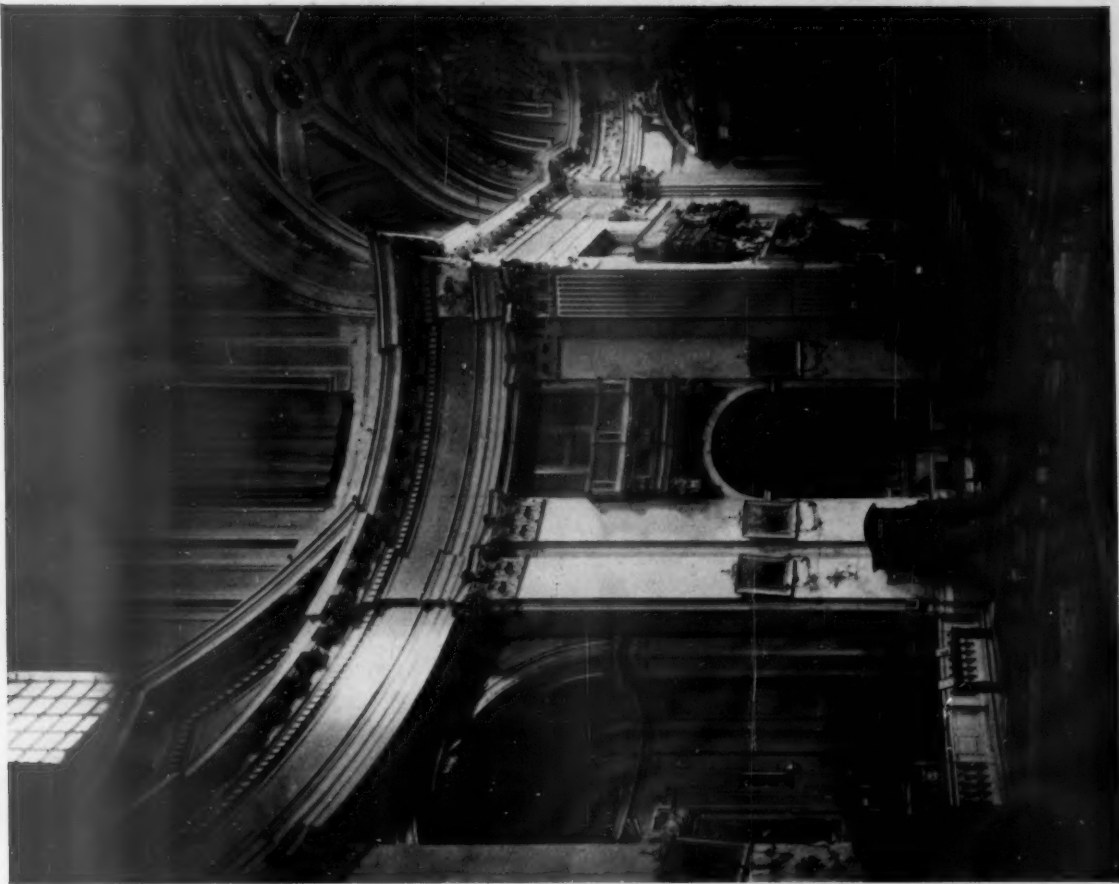


FIG. 31



FIG. 32—*Project by Bernini for S. Andrea al Quirinale*



FIG. 33—*Rome: S. Andrea al Quirinale, by Bernini*

By this arrangement the sequence of the orders represents a regular rhythm, a, b, a, b, a, b, a, b. But this intention is again opposed by another tendency, for the pilasters of the choir in contradistinction to those of the main structure are fluted (Fig. 31), and correspond in this particular to those attached to the walls of the choir. Through the color scheme too they are sharply differentiated from the main structure and related, with their respective entablature and arch, to the choir; so that these pilasters appear as two arms, which, projecting from the choir into the central building, break the continuity of the circular articulation and accentuate the long axis.

Rainaldi therefore is not here satisfied with a simple conflict of axial lines. Although the entablature is broken in the long axis he attempts to express through the wall formation the totality of the circle but counteracts this intention again by the dual function of the pilasters before the choir, so that there is not only a discord due to the intersecting of axial lines but also an inextricable confusion of circular hall and rectangular choir at the points where their walls meet.

A more detailed analysis would elucidate the problem still further, but the present investigations suffice to show in what line of architectural development Rainaldi's design for the plan and elevation of S. Maria de' Miracoli stands. It is impossible to doubt that the interior of the building is determined by the same ambiguous principles which are visible in the façade, where they are more obvious and can be more easily analyzed.

At this point it may be asked if so much importance can be assigned to a structure so insignificant in size, where the external appearance was the primary consideration. Two things may be said in reply: first that Rainaldi expressed the same conceptions in the interior of his other structures, although it may be only in S. Maria in Campitelli that they can be seen so distinctly; and secondly, that it is an error to think that in Baroque architecture the largest buildings are the most important. On the contrary, all the Italian buildings of the seventeenth century which can be regarded as most decisive not only in the history of architectural development but also as examples of individual styles, are of medium size and centrally planned. The rich possibilities of the central structure stimulate new and individual conceptions in a way that the nave type of structure could never do. One can even say that it was the experience gathered from the attempts to build in a central form which stimulated new ventures in the design of longitudinal buildings.

But before further discussion of Rainaldi's work we must compare his particular interpretation of the central type of building with other important contemporary churches in Rome of a central structure. Only thus can Rainaldi's originality and his place in the history of architecture be shown.

CENTRALLY PLANNED BUILDINGS OF BERNINI, CORTONA, AND BORROMINI

Bernini: S. Andrea al Quirinale. Bernini constructed three centrally planned churches, all three extremely small in size but considerable in their subsequent effect. In each case he uses one of the three possible shapes in its purest form: the pure circle for the Chiesa della Assunta in Ariccia near Rome, the pure Greek cross for

S. Tomaso in Castel Gandolfo, the pure oval for S. Andrea al Quirinale in Rome.⁵⁸ The most important and most ornate of the three churches is the last, and it is here therefore that Bernini's conception of a central structure can best be studied (Figs. 32-34, 36).

It has often been noticed that in the structure of S. Andrea Bernini employed for the first time a latitudinal oval. He was impelled to do so by a lack of space, for the site at his disposal was wide but shallow. He turned such difficulties as these, however, to artistic account. This is indeed one of the most striking characteristics of his work: material constraints become in themselves the origin of new and purely aesthetic conceptions. In this design the important point is that the line of the transverse axis (in reality the long axis) instead of leading on each side to a chapel is now terminated by two pilasters. The long axis of the oval, therefore, which would naturally represent the line of orientation, is blocked at each end, so that the enclosure of the oval space is evident even in the design of the ground plan. This enclosure is further emphasized by the elevation. The cornice supported by the pilasters forms a complete ring (no breaking of the entablature), the chapels are dimly lit and thereby stand completely apart from the brightly illuminated central space; the choir also forms an independent entity not only because of the columns which divide it from the rest of the building but also because of its bright illumination. But although the centralized shape is most strongly emphasized, the effect is not centripetal, in accordance with the static principles of the Renaissance; that is, there is no convergence toward an ideal center. We find, on the contrary, a very marked concentration of lines upon the aedicula in front of the choir, so that the altar, although standing in another world and completely isolated, is at once felt to be the spiritual center. The eye sweeps round the ring of the cornice to the aedicula of columns, to an apotheosis to which every worshipper can testify: here in an alcove of the pediment we behold St. Andrew soaring to heaven.

Corresponding to the centrifugal pressure of the interior, there is encircling the exterior a powerful ring held together by the aedicula of the façade. Just as, in the interior, the semicircular choir lies outside the closed ring of the oval, so in the exterior also, the loggia, born by columns, stands outside the encircling ring. Exterior and interior are two parts of one whole, but the emphasis lies in a reversed direction: outwardly, the structure is bound together by the aedicula of the façade, inwardly by the altar aedicula; the overflowing vitality creates outwardly the loggia, inwardly the choir. The outer concave walls which form as it were an inviting courtyard, seem to be clamped into the building at the crucial joint and to be riveting the structure together against a hypothetical explosion of the inner force. Bernini's structure is therefore throughout an organic unity, a dynamic creation based on a forcible manipulation and control of the material.

By distinguishing between the component parts of the building and by defining clearly and unequivocally the form and function of every architectural unit, Bernini belongs definitely to the classical school. But he interprets those two fundamental elements—the shape of the ground plan and the articulation of the structure—in

58. Construction begun 1658. For Bernini's centralized buildings see: Brauer-Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 ff.

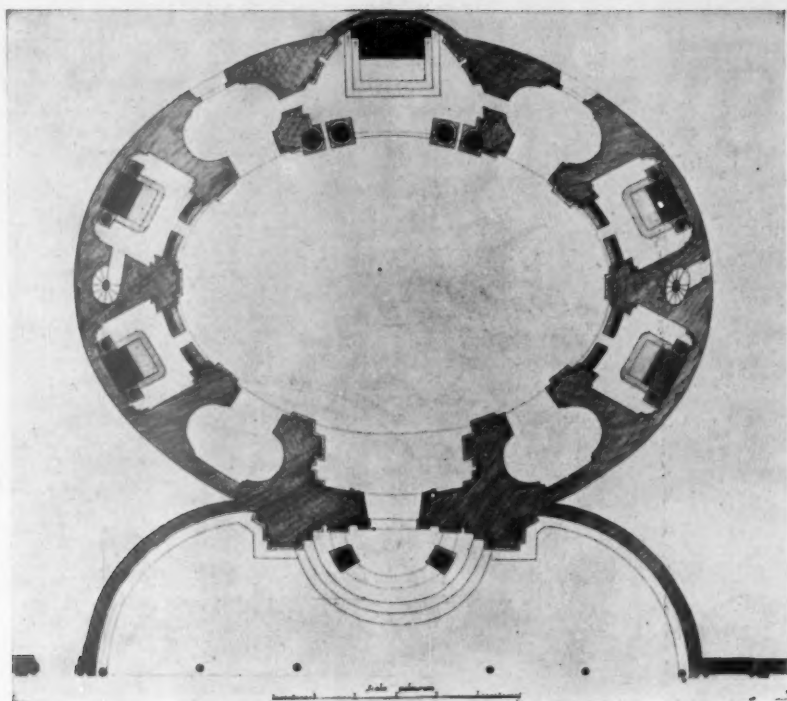


FIG. 34—Ground Plan of *S. Andrea al Quirinale*,
by Bernini

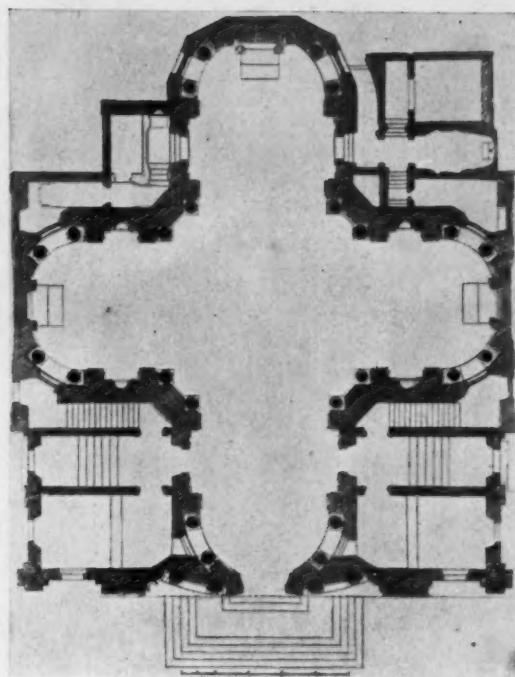


FIG. 35—Ground Plan of *SS. Luca e Martina*, by Pietro da Cortona



FIG. 36—Cross-Section of *S. Andrea al Quirinale*,
by Bernini



FIG. 37—Cross-Section of *SS. Luca e Martina*,
by Pietro da Cortona



FIG. 38—Rome: *S. Ivo della Sapienza*, by Borromini



FIG. 39—Rome: *S. Ivo della Sapienza*, by Borromini

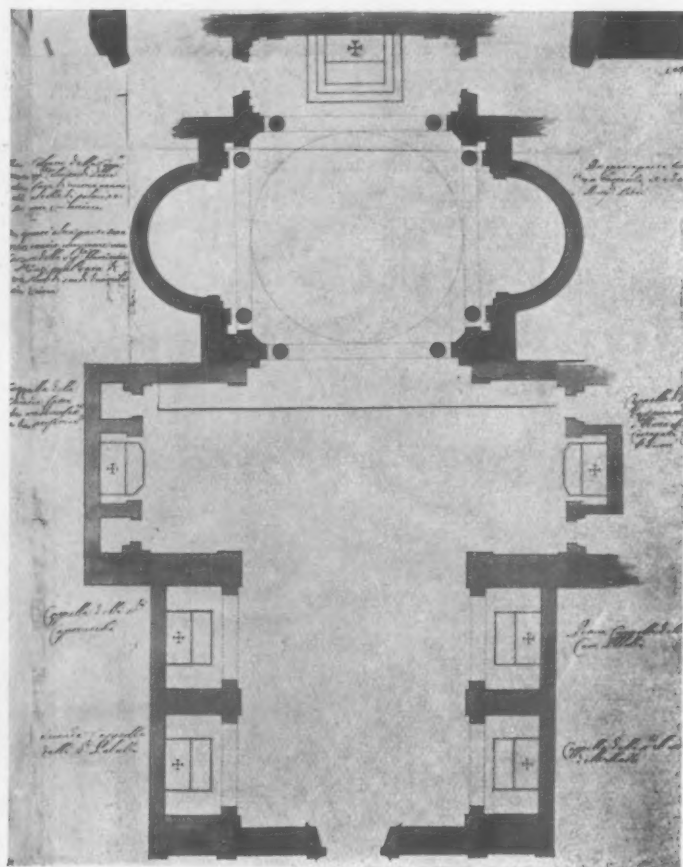


FIG. 40—*S. Maria in Campitelli*: Ground Plan of the Nave of 1642-8; on Attached Flap, Project for Choir Enlargement, 1658; under Flap, but here invisible, Rectangular Choir of 1619

a sense unknown to the Renaissance. His conceptions are based on a dynamic principle of controlled and directed forces instead of on an aggregate of independent units.

This was of great significance inasmuch as it paved the way for the real solution of the central structure, which the architects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were necessarily unable to find. Only by distributing the emphasis around the outer circle, was it possible, without provoking a conflict of axial lines, to retain the effect of the closed circular interior, and at the same time to accentuate the altar (which stands outside the dynamic ring) in accordance with liturgical demands.

At this point one must consider the part which the sculpture plays in S. Andrea. We have seen how all the significant lines of the interior lead up to the sculptured figure that is borne by clouds to heaven.⁵⁹ Whoever enters this church will find himself involved in a particular event, fixed in time and space, and he will participate in the glorification of the saint who is seen flying upwards towards the golden dome and towards the Holy Dove surrounded by *putti*. But it is at the altar that the mystery itself is consummated; here angels bear aloft the image of the martyred saint and human suffering is transformed into divine reward. Thereafter, the deliverance is complete and if our eyes turn back to the church they rest again upon the soaring figure of the saint.

Until now churches had been a neutral space, as it were a vast shrine, where the mediation between man and the Divine were accomplished. In Bernini's church of S. Andrea the entire space is dominated by one particular event and the whole interior is the stage of a drama. Because of the event which it exhibits—the ascension of the saint—the objective form of the architecture has more than a mere architectural significance. The architecture, so to express it, disappears behind a soul-moving story which takes up the whole space. In this space the sculpture serves to bring into play the subjective values in the contemplating mind, and in that way to psychologize or dramatize the actual objective contours of the architecture, so that the whole structure is permeated by one imaginative conception and forms one artistic entity.⁶⁰

From what has been said, it must be clear that the architecture and sculpture do not here represent two conflicting principles, but that the architecture leads up to the sculpture and to all it represents, as is shown by the fact that the lines of the architecture converge upon the figure of the ascending saint, and also by the color scheme of the interior: rather dark marble below, gold and white above. Architecture and sculpture are here the two sides of one conception, unmistakable in significance; they are both made to convey to us one single, clear, and definite experience.

Pietro da Cortona: SS. Luca e Martina. Cortona sets out to solve the problem of the central type of building by completely other means than did Rainaldi and Bernini. SS. Luca e Martina (Figs. 35, 37) is designed on the form of a Greek cross

59. The rest of the plastic decoration, adorning the base of the dome, depicts the world of St. Andrew, the fisherman: we see representations of fishermen

with oars and nets, of fish, shells, and water plants.

60. For Bernini's psychological conception of architecture see above p. 253, etc.

with a slight accentuation of the long axis.⁶¹ Entrance and choir have at each side, between the crossing arches and the termination of the apse, a wide bay containing a door and surmounted by a balcony, while on the transverse axis, at the corresponding place, are only small niches for statues. But this unimportant accentuation of the line of orientation is nearly completely neutralized by those other features which give to the building its specific character. Here again it is on the surrounding wall that interest is concentrated, but the means employed are very different from those of Bernini. Even in the ground plan one is struck by the complication and breaking-up of the wall surface, in contrast to the clarity and strength of Bernini. This animation of the plastic wall structure is based on a systematic pattern, the principle of which at least can here be described. The boundaries of the interior are conceived on three planes lying one behind the other, which are visible at alternate and corresponding points. The inner boundary can be seen at the termination of the four apses, the outer lies behind the columns of the compartments in the circle of the apse, the intermediate is represented by the bays between the crossing and the apses. To the eye accustomed to the Renaissance buildings this three-plane boundary may appear violently agitated and indiscriminately broken up, but it represents in reality a regular rhythm of undulating movement. If this is realized one can easily recognize the different planes and the corresponding articulations as a unity.

The animation of a boundary wall conceived on different planes is probably the basic principle of Cortona's architecture. This principle of plane differentiation implies again a dynamic, centrifugal movement and it is therefore another means of solving the old problem of orientation in the central structure.⁶²

Borromini: S. Ivo della Sapienza. If one wishes to become acquainted with Borromini's final conception of the central building one must turn to the church of S. Ivo (Figs. 38, 39), the construction of which was begun about ten years after that of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane. Those tendencies which in S. Carlo were only partly developed may be seen here in their full significance.⁶³ The plan of the building from the geometrical point of view is always and correctly described as an intersection of two equal-sided triangles. The points of one triangle are made concave, while the points of the other are "cut off" by convex walls. Concave and convex boundaries therefore alternate. On entering the church it is not possible to perceive the geometric pattern of the ground plan; as one's eye follows along the walls one has instead the impression of a star-shaped unity. This primary impression is due to, and indeed only made possible by, the design of the elevation and the articulation of the walls. In order to demonstrate the unity and indivisibility of the wall articulation the moldings, color scheme, and general decoration are identical throughout, the

61. Construction began in 1635 and was only completed after 1650. An adequate work on Pietro da Cortona as an architect does not exist. The best treatment is by D. Frey, *Architettura barocca*. Rome and Milan, s. a., pp. 28 ff. See also: *Das Siebente Jahrzehnt. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Adolph Goldschmidt*, 1935, pp. 137 ff.

62. The principle of an enclosing wall on several planes was still further developed in Cortona's later works, notably in the entrance hall of S. Maria in

Via Lata, where the wall represents an enclosure on three distinct planes, one behind the other. It would be an extremely engrossing task to trace back this principle of a many-plane wall to its origin. Cortona developed it from the mannerist principle of a confused multiplicity of different wall planes (see *Art Bulletin*, 1934, pp. 210 ff.).

63. The construction of S. Ivo was begun in 1642 and completed in 1660. See Hempel, *Borromini*, pp. 114 ff.

pilasters are made to articulate the wall surface in a simple rhythmical sequence along which the eye moves smoothly, and finally the clear-cut crowning cornice runs round the whole interior in one unbroken and quite definite line.

As to the dome it is obvious that, although it is clearly differentiated from the body of the building by the wide unbroken entablature and the color scheme of the structure below, it is nevertheless included in the vertical movement of the walls, in so far as the lines of the pilasters articulating the wall surface are prolonged in the dome. But the infillings of the dome, which at the base are alternately convex and concave, corresponding to the lower structure, as they ascend lose progressively their spherically contrasted form and finally unite under the lantern in a homogeneous circle of twelve stars. In this reduction of multiplicity to unity, of differentiation and complication to the pure form of the circle, consists the fascinating richness of the interior. If one traces the movement in the opposite direction, one can follow the lines downwards from the simplicity of the apex in the heavenly zone to the increasing complexity in the earthly zone.

In this church one is then, as it were, compelled by the dynamic power of the walls constraining the interior space, to see this star-shaped space as a unit where the whole emphasis is directed centrifugally upon the walls. This impression cannot in any way be disturbed by the accentuated wall altar because in such a building, where wall contours of a different shape are brought into antithesis, there can be no question of a definite axial direction.⁶⁴

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RAINALDI'S CENTRAL TYPE OF BUILDING

The central buildings of Bernini, Cortona, and Borromini which have just been mentioned are all highly individual solutions of the problem, widely apart in conception and attained by completely different means. Yet the three architects had the same object in view—the complete reconciliation of liturgical purpose with spatial structure. They all three pursue the only line by which this can be attained, namely, by creating a wall surface of such an active and compelling nature that we can feel it as a living entity. In all three cases the architecture presents the clearest indication of how it should be regarded and one is, at it were, compelled to follow these spatial indications in a temporal sequence. Here then we have a solution of the original problem: the spectator is aware of the unity of the central form and yet at the same time his eyes are led to the predominant altar. Bernini attains this end by the dynamic articulation of the whole structure, Cortona by the effect of a wall broken up by the active intrusion of space, Borromini by the enclosure of the interior space in a convoluted wall boundary.

64. It could easily be shown that in the case of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane the rhythmical succession of columns was meant to express and emphasize the lines of the indivisible and dynamic structure. There are still, however, here traces of the mannerist dual function conception, which were in his later buildings eliminated. Nor is there any relation between the dynamic lines of the lower structure and the pure

oval form of the dome, in accordance with the idea of horizontal articulation which was typical of the first half of the century.

It is not necessary to point out here how far we disagree with the interpretation of Sedlmayr (*Die Architektur Borrominis*, Berlin, 1930) and A. E. Brinckmann (*Von Guarino bis Balthasar Neumann*, Berlin, 1932).

In Rainaldi too, the solution is a centrifugal one. But, as we have seen, it is confused by the simultaneous accentuation of the two axial lines. This inconsistency, and wavering between two possibilities, is very different from the conceptions of the great masters of Roman Full Baroque. Rainaldi is the only one who by applying his ambiguous principles to the construction of the central building carried over into Full Baroque ideas inherited from the late sixteenth century. At the same time, the examination we have made of these other three buildings enables one to realize how conventional in comparison are the elements of Rainaldi's composition.

But although Rainaldi may in this connection be regarded as an inheritor of the Roman manneristic tradition, further analysis will show how strongly his work was also influenced by the North Italian school of architecture. In his most important building, S. Maria in Campitelli, he attacks the problem of orientation in the nave type of church, a problem which arose not on Roman but on North Italian soil.

S. MARIA IN CAMPITELLI: HISTORY OF THE BUILDING

Although a work on S. Maria in Campitelli has lately been published⁶⁵ one must here attempt, in the light of new material and new arguments to establish the different stages by which Rainaldi's most important building and one of the most significant examples of Roman Baroque architecture took shape.

The original building. In 1619 Paul V caused a church to be erected on the site of the present building; and it was altered during 1642 and the following years with a view to making it larger and more ornate. The consecration by Cardinal Marc Antonio Franciotti took place on May 3, 1648. According to Marracci's description,⁶⁶ this church consisted of a nave with two chapels on each side and a transept in front of the choir which was still the original building of 1619. Two sheets in the codex Chigianus P VII 10 have preserved the plan (Fig. 41)⁶⁷ and elevation (Fig. 43) of this church which correspond exactly with Marracci's description. Especially the conjunction of the older choir of 1619 with the wider, higher and much more ornate nave of 1642/8 is clearly to be seen.

The proposed enlargement of the original building. As a protection against the plague which had been raging in Rome since 1656, the Roman senate decided to erect a new church in honor of the miracle-working picture of the Madonna which was then in S. Maria in Portico. On November 29, 1656, the papal consent was

65. P. Francesco Ferraironi, *S. Maria in Campitelli*, Rome, 1934; *Le Chiese di Roma illustrate*, No. 33. One finds here supplementary material to Hempel, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff.

66. L. Marracci, *Memorie di S. Maria in Portico di Roma*, 2nd. ed., 1675, pp. 117 ff. Paul V caused two medals of the church to be struck in 1619, one with his own portrait and one with a portrait of Cardinal Garzia Mellini, who laid the foundation stone. Marracci (*op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff.) speaks as follows of the structure of 1642: "[La Chiesa] fu ridotta in forma più ampia e vaga e tutta coperta di soffitta dorata con quattro altari dentro cappelle ador-

nate di marmi e di stucchi nel corpo della chiesa e due nei bracci della medesima, restando l'Altare maggiore con la tribuna a volta come era prima." — Ferraironi, *op. cit.*, p. 10, wrongly described this building as consisting of three naves, an opinion which is disproved by Marracci's text and by the plans of the building which are here reproduced.

67. Drawing of the ground plan: f. 104 (555×382 mm.). The inscription: "Pianta della Chiesa di Sta. Maria in Campitelli" does not appear in the illustration. Drawing of the longitudinal section: f. 107/8. For the arrangement of flaps on this sheet see further below, pp. 283, 284, and note 70.

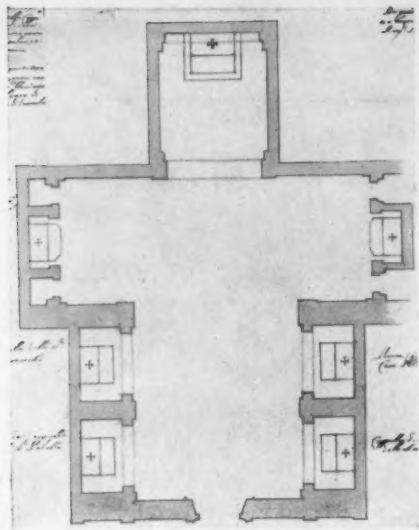


FIG. 41—*Ground Plan of S. Maria in Campitelli with Choir of 1619 and Nave of 1642-8*

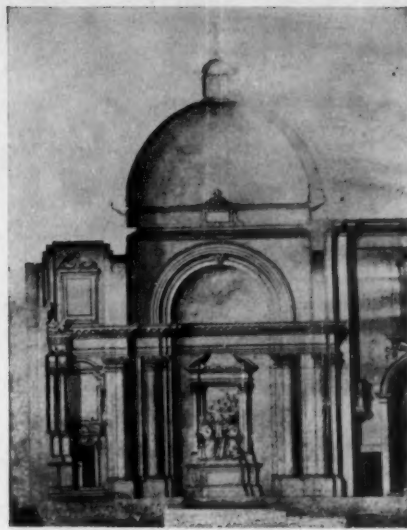


FIG. 42—*C. Rainaldi's Enlargement Project for S. Maria in Campitelli, 1658*

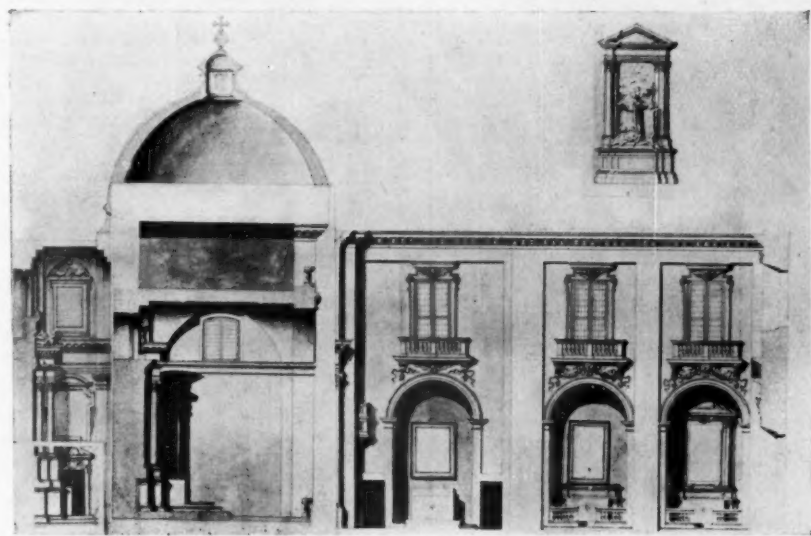


FIG. 43—*Elevation of S. Maria in Campitelli before Rainaldi: Nave of 1642-8; Choir of 1619 on Flap placed over Rainaldi's Enlargement Project*

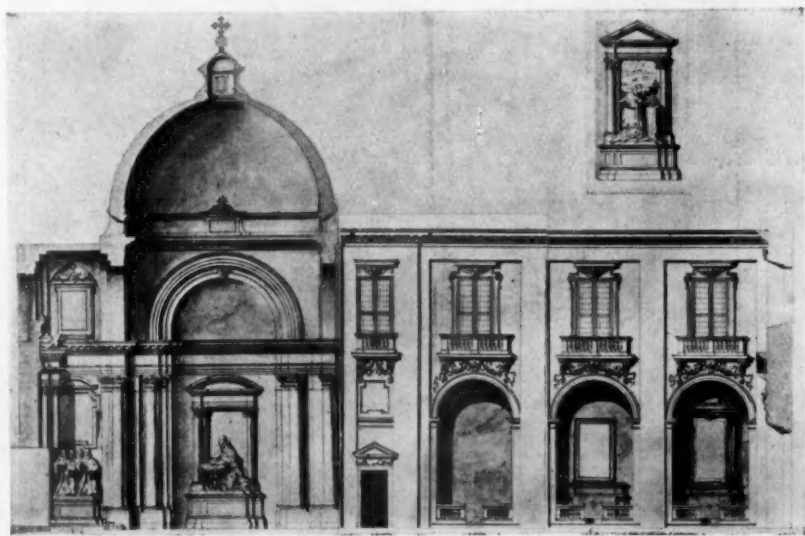


FIG. 44—*C. Rainaldi's Project for Enlargement of Choir of S. Maria in Campitelli, with Nave of 1642-8*



FIG. 45—*Foundation Medal of S. Maria in Campitelli (C. Rainaldi's Project), Sept. 29, 1662*



FIG. 46—*Second Medal of S. Maria in Campitelli (C. Rainaldi's Project), 1662-3*

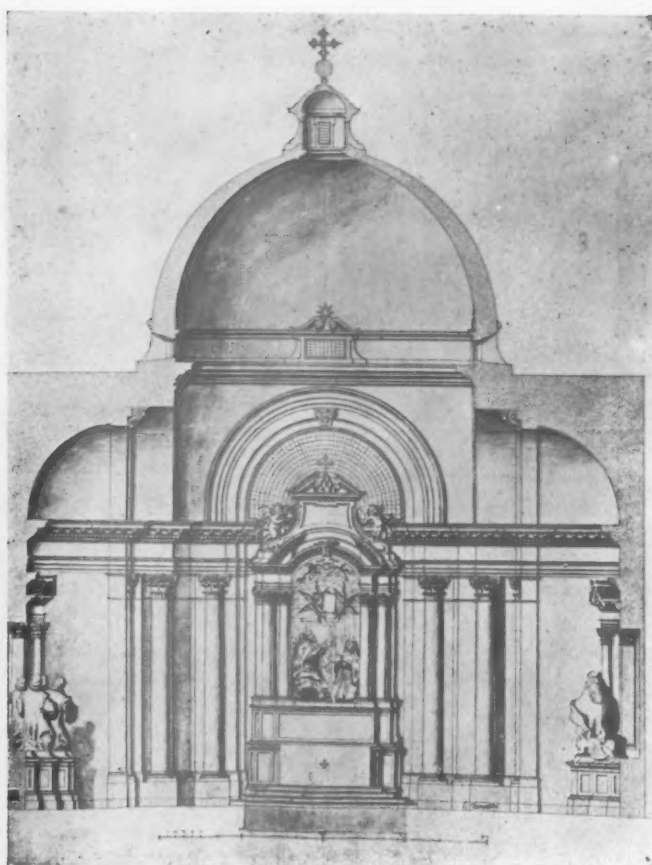


FIG. 47—*Choir Enlargement Project for S. Maria in Campitelli. 1658*

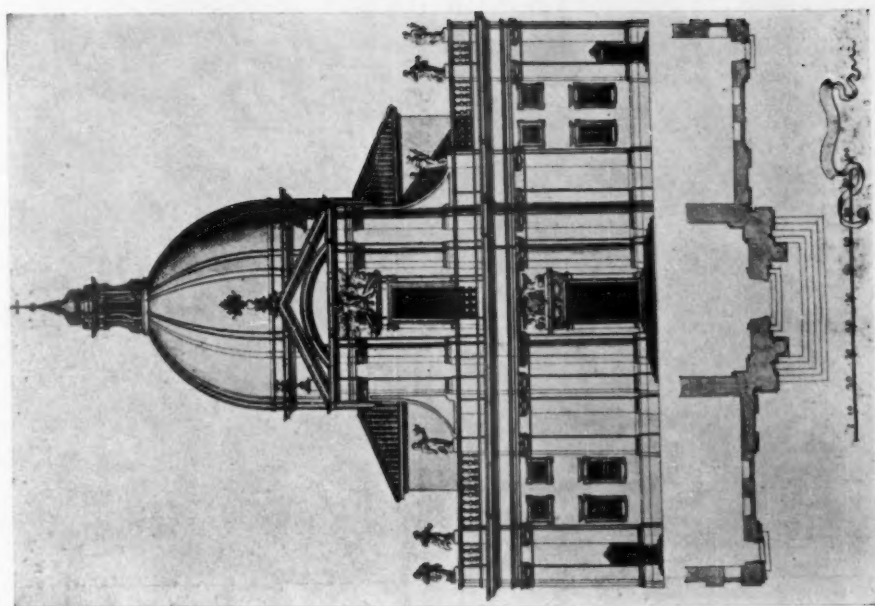


FIG. 48

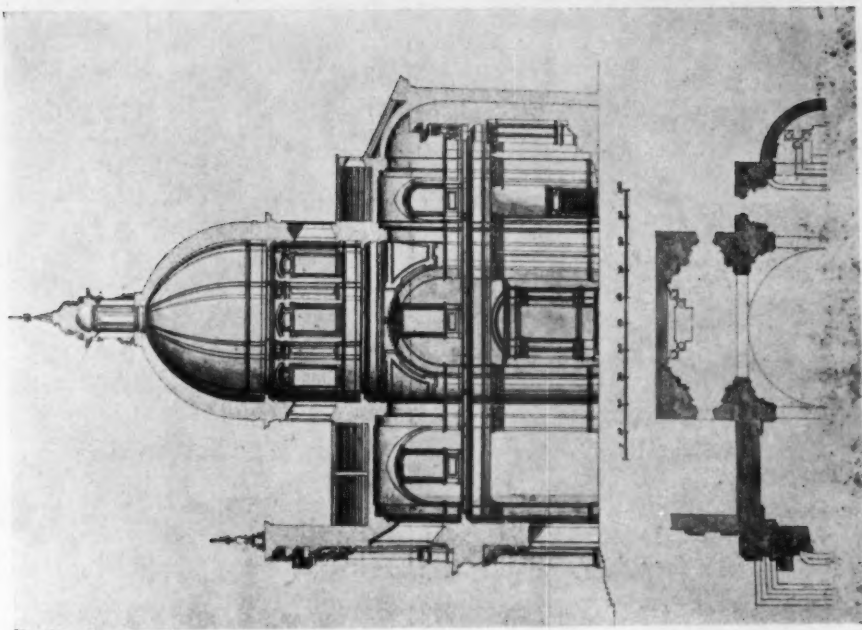


FIG. 49

Project by Gregorio Tomassini for S. Salvatore. Elevation and Section

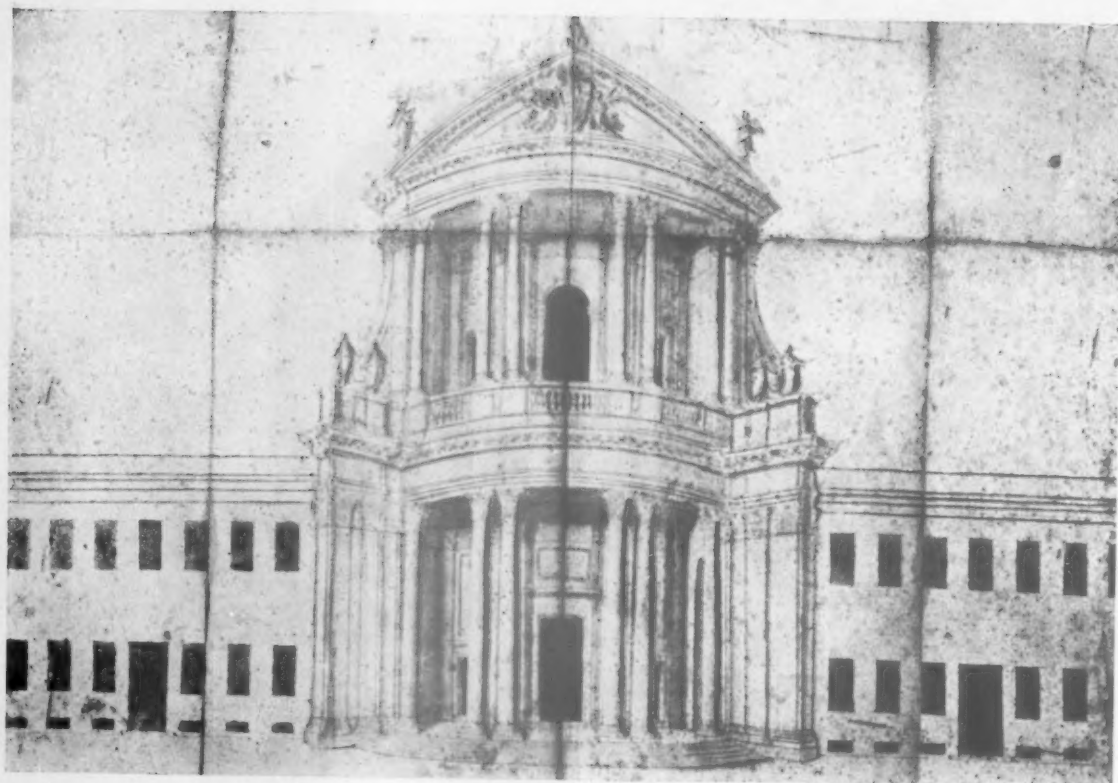


FIG. 50



FIG. 51

Drawings by Carlo Rainaldi for Façade and Section of S. Maria in Campitelli

obtained,⁶⁸ but on January 21, 1657, the pope made a personal visit to S. Maria in Portico and declared that such a site, in the dirty and crowded district of Rione Ripa, was unsuitable for the new building.

In the course of the year 1657 it was decided to erect the new church for the holy picture on the site of S. Maria in Campitelli on Piazza Campizucchi, and on March 13, 1658, the conservators and priors laid before Alexander VII plans for a building on this site.⁶⁹ These plans probably included a scheme for the enlargement of the already existing building, which is illustrated by the plans contained in the codex Chigianus (Figs. 40, 42, 44, 47). By this scheme the "modern" nave of 1642/8 was to be preserved, but the small old-fashioned choir of 1619 was to be replaced.

A flap which is pasted onto the ground plan so as to hide the old rectangular choir (cf. Fig. 41) depicts an imposing domed interior, with isolated columns supporting the crossing, apsidial termination on each side, and an extended rectangular altar space. In the section of the proposed alterations on sheet 107v/8r (Fig. 44) a feature has been introduced which is not yet to be seen in the ground plan. The third great bay forming the transept is here covered by a flap on which the whole width of the transept is shown as divided into two parts, one of which consists of a chapel corresponding in size to the other two chapels, and the other of a small compartment (with an entrance door) which fills the remaining width. By this elimination of the transept and the introduction of a dome, the plan becomes similar to that type whose classical example is the Gesù in Rome.

In other respects the design of the section agrees with that of the plan as shown on f. 104r (Fig. 40). The proposed domed sanctuary is not only very distinctly separated from the nave by the triumphal arch which the isolated and projecting columns support, but is also markedly different in style. The new design entailed quite new proportions. Mighty columns of over 20 palmi high (as is stated in the inscriptions on the plan) give a monumental character to the domed interior; the serried, sculptural group of isolated columns, the ornateness of the high crowning cornice, the richly articulated moldings of the arches of the crossing—all these features contrast strongly with the flat pilaster strips of the walls of the nave and the studied simplicity of the crowning entablature.

The proportions of the domed sanctuary itself are very unusual. The arches of the crossing are extremely elongated and have especially wide moldings so that the zone of the arches is exceptionally high; the tambour, on the other hand, is so compressed that it is reduced to a small rudimentary strip, in which are four small oblong windows, placed on the two main axes of the building.

A number of small flaps attached to the elevation over the side apse and the choir depict an alternative treatment of various details. At the altar of the side apse the undermost flap represents the sculpture of a cardinal turning in an attitude of prayer towards the high altar, over that is pasted a small flap with four noblemen in the same praying attitude (Fig. 42), and finally above there is a larger flap which depicts

68. The authority for this fact and for the other dates is still Marracci, *op. cit.*, 1st. ed., 1667, pp. 97 ff.

69. Bibl. Vat. Chig. G III 78, f. 214v. See also Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, XIV, 1, p. 520 note.

the altar without any kind of sculptural decoration, and thus left empty to take a picture.⁷⁰ On the side wall near the high altar are three superimposed designs, the lowest representing the group of four praying noblemen, the next the same figure of the cardinal, and the topmost design consisting only of a simple door.

From another sheet in the same volume of the Chigiana (f. 109r) (Fig. 47) the intentions of the artist become quite evident.⁷¹ Here in the transverse section of the domed sanctuary we have the same groups of figures in the side apses which we saw depicted on the flaps: on one side the cardinal, and on the other side the group of four figures turned in prayer towards the picture of the Madonna, which is born aloft by angels and adored by two other praying figures. Beneath the design for the group of figures on the high altar is a second design which shows the altar unadorned by any figures.

The artist has thereby proposed three alternative solutions: (1) to place figures on the side apses and on the high altar, (2) to place the same figures against the walls left and right of the high altar, (3) to leave the architecture bare of sculptural decoration. The praying figures of the side apses are intimately related to the high altar so that there is a spiritual connection across the intervening space, the same space in which living figures also gather.⁷² This fusion of art and reality, this transcending of the boundaries of art—which was foreshadowed already in the late Cinquecento and which, as a typical feature of Italian Full Baroque, was first given "classical" expression in Bernini's Cappella Cornaro in S. Maria della Vittoria—is here extended so as to include the whole of the sanctuary.

Who is then the author of this plan? On two of the sheets that we have mentioned can be seen the signature of the architect Gregorio Tomassini.⁷³ We know practically nothing about this artist. An example of his style can be seen in the so far unpublished plan in the same codex of the Chigiana, P VII 10 (Figs. 48, 49). It represents a design by Tomassini for S. Salvatore at the end of the Via Giulia, whereby a spacious central building was to replace an older church.⁷⁴ This design is decidedly more conventional than the plan for the enlargement of S. Maria in Campitelli, and in the individual features of the building the prototypes can easily be seen. The façade is composed under the influence of Rainaldi's S. Maria in Campitelli and S. Andrea della Valle, while the dome is inspired by the church of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona. Even in his draughtsmanship and conception of detail Tomassini follows Rainaldi very closely.

This proof of the mediocrity of Tomassini's talent entitles us to attribute those remarkable features in the plan for S. Maria in Campitelli to a more distinguished

70. This drawing can be covered by a large flap on which the old choir of 1619 is depicted (Fig. 43). Naturally this upper flap cannot be taken as an alternative solution but was only attached for purposes of comparison.

71. 543×389 mm. Blue-grey colored.

72. The kneeling pope depicted on the high altar would have been naturally Alexander VII. There is no point in putting forward conjectures as to the identity of the other figures. But it seems to be fairly certain that they represent members of the great families (Capizucchi, Paluzzi, Costaguti, Muti)

who possessed and still possess chapels in the church and who undoubtedly bore to some extent the cost of the rebuilding and upkeep of the church.

73. On fol. 109r (Fig. 47) and on one of the flaps attached to fol. 107v/8.

74. Chig. P VII 10, f. 116/7r: plan of the site of the surroundings with a ground plan in dotted lines of the new church; f. 119r: ground plan of the new building; f. 120r: elevation, signed "Greg.o Tomassini" (Fig. 48); fo. 21r: section, signed as above (Fig. 49).

mind, namely to Carlo Rainaldi. Tomassini must have been working during these years in Rainaldi's studio, and some details of the plan suggest that in minor matters he was allowed a free hand. His position there must have been that of a fairly independent pupil, similar to that of the more noteworthy Carlo Fontana. The design for S. Salvatore in Via Giulia although it was still made during the pontificate of Alexander VII, must be therefore regarded as an independent work of Tomassini after he had left Rainaldi's studio.

To return to S. Maria in Campitelli, the fact that the existing domed sanctuary of today (Figs. 72, 74) was constructed substantially in accordance with the plan of enlargement, points most clearly to Rainaldi's authorship of the plan. The complete identification—through the particular disposition of the sculpture—of the aesthetic function of space with the practical purpose of the interior (i. e. identification of "Gebet- und Kunstraum") is also characteristic of Rainaldi. The life-size praying figures, kneeling and looking towards the altar across wide-intervening space—an adoption of Bernini's ideas—are used here in the same way as later in his church of Gesù e Maria.

The plan with the large dome. Apparently the pope was not satisfied with the plan for enlargement. But it was not till the beginning of 1660⁷⁵ that the decision was reached to erect a completely new building and a large sum of money was allocated to that purpose. On March 9, 1662, a commencement was made in pulling down the neighboring houses and in laying the foundations of the new church, but it was not till six months later, September 29, 1662,⁷⁶ that the solemn laying of the foundation stone took place. On this occasion the pope himself buried medals in the foundations on which was depicted Rainaldi's proposed design (Fig. 45).⁷⁷ What then exactly was this design, in accordance with which they had most probably been working since March, 1662?

The reverse of this medal has nothing in common with the present building. Behind a one-story concave façade, articulated by colossal orders, rises a commanding dome. The similarity of this design and that of the design in the State Archives for the churches on the Piazza del Popolo, of November, 1661 (Fig. 11), is so obvious that it need not be elaborated. But one must notice that in S. Maria in Campitelli the design becomes more complex by the introduction of a new and important feature; following Pietro da Cortona's front of SS. Luca e Martina, the concave middle part of the façade is here enframed between two extremely projecting pylons.

Though the connection with the design in the State Archives is clear it does not throw any light on the form of the ground plan of the medal design for S. Maria in Campitelli. An exact reconstruction of the ground plan is impossible and even the general features of the design can only be inferred. But if we assume that we have

75. Marracci, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

76. Bonanni, *Numismata Pontificum*, Rome, 1706, II, p. 692. The erroneous date 1660, given by Marracci (pp. 119/20) was first disproved by Incisa della Rocchetta in the *Messaggero* of February 18, 1926. Nevertheless we find it again in the inadequate article by Mandl in Thieme-Becker, XXVII, p. 578.

77. Obverse: "Alexander. VII. Pont. Max. Anno. MDCLXII." Reverse: "Quae. vovi. reddam. pro. salute. Domino." The medal, a work by G. F. Travani, first published in modern literature by Stettiner, *Roma nei suoi monumenti*, 1911, fig. 580 (English edition, 1912, fig. 184). Ultimately published by F. Dworschak in *Jahrbuch d. preuss. Kunstslg.*, LV (1934), p. 39.

in the medal a reliable representation also of the lesser details—and the particular quality of the medal entitles us to do so—we may reconstruct a dome with sixteen ribs and infillings of varying breadth.⁷⁸ This means that the dome was to have been erected over an oval ground plan. From the great circumference of the dome we must conclude that the intended oval interior was to be wider than the present nave. After the laying of the foundation stone, Alexander VII gave orders that the construction of the apse and of the façade should be begun, so that the imposing dimensions of the building should be once for all established.⁷⁹ From the commencement of the work onwards therefore the longitudinal measurement of the church was that of the present building. As this measurement exceeds by far even that of the proposed great oval dome, we must infer that the domed sanctuary, such as we found it on the plan for the enlargement and as it actually exists, was also projected at this phase. We can therefore reconstruct the design as a sequence of two domed interiors, one of superior and dominating dimensions and one decidedly smaller which would form the actual shrine of the holy picture.⁸⁰

I am glad to find this reconstruction confirmed through two original drawings by Rainaldi from the Archivio di S. Maria in Campitelli, which were kindly sent to me by Dr. Kurt Cassirer when this article had already gone to press.⁸¹ The façade (Fig. 50) is here still curved, but has already two stories. The section (Fig. 51) shows a sequence of a very large oblong central room with a dome, and a small circular one; but the dome of the main room, without a tambour, formed by alternating large and small lunettes, is very low. This plan shows a reduction in the size of the dome as compared with the design on the medal. It proves that a cutting-down of the ambitious medal design was discussed—still without the intention of giving up the dome completely. The second story of the façade now became a necessity, because this low type of dome has to be hidden. It is not without interest to note that in this façade the important influence of Pietro da Cortona was still more emphasized. It is a combination of the curved façade of SS. Martina e Luca with the loggias in two stories, supported by double columns, of S. Maria in Via.

The plan of the execution. A few months after the foundation medal had been buried, a new medal was struck which represented a fundamental change of design

78. The windows in the tambour have alternately circular and rectangular lintels, as can be clearly seen on the original medal. In depicting the infillings of the dome, the outer ones are shown as almost equal in width to those preceding them. If the infillings had been in reality equal in width, they could not present such an appearance because of perspective foreshortening; in other words, the infillings over the rectangular windows of the tambour were planned to be narrower than those over the semicircular windows.

79. Bonanni, *op. cit.*, II, p. 692 and Marracci, *op. cit.*, pp. 121/2: "Poco dopo essersi incominciato il Santuario, si pose mano alla facciata."

80. C. A. Erra makes a vague and confused reference to this project in *Storia dell'immagine e chiesa di S. Maria in Portico di Campitelli*, Rome,

1750, pp. 55/6. Churches showing a sequence of two domed buildings, a larger and a smaller one, are rather rare. Examples in Strack, *Central und Kuppelkirchen der Renaissance*, 1882 (e. g. pl. 4, S. Maria Coronata near Pavia).

81. The drawings preserved in the archive of S. Maria in Campitelli were referred to first by P. Fr. Ferraironi (*op. cit.*, p. 14). Albrecht Rosenthal, who made researches for me on the spot, found in all seven drawings with the following representations: 1, "disegno dello Spaccato di dentro del Tempio (non eseguito)" (Fig. 51); 2, "disegno della Facciata (non eseguita)," without dome (Fig. 50); 3, "Facciata eseguita;" longitudinal section (illustr. by Ferraironi p. 38); 5, ground plan of the existing building; 6 & 7, "Pianta del Piano Nobile e superiore dell'Habitatione."



FIG. 52—*Project by Carlo Rainaldi for S. Maria in Campitelli*



FIG. 53—Engraving by Falda, Showing S. Maria in Campitelli. 1665



FIG. 54—Rome: Façade of S. Maria in Campitelli,
by Carlo Rainaldi. 1662/3-1667



FIG. 55—Rome: Apse of S. Maria in Campitelli

(Fig. 46).⁸² The façade has two stories and the fact that it is no longer curved points to the abandonment of the domed oval interior. The actual construction of the building was carried out in accordance with this plan and the façade as completed agrees largely with the design on this medal (Fig. 54). A corresponding representation of the whole side of the square can be seen in a drawing by Rainaldi himself, preserved in the codex Chigianus P VII 10 (Fig. 52). On such a drawing the medal design and later the engraving by Falda in 1665 must have been based (Fig. 53).⁸³

This change of plan, which took place very shortly after the laying of the foundation stone, meant that the original project was very much reduced. We do not know why the idea of a vast dome was given up, but it can probably be attributed to a fear of the immense cost. It appears that the new façade on the second medal was projected at the same time as the present ground plan (Fig. 57); one has at least very striking documentary evidence for it in a drawing (Fig. 56)⁸⁴ which one may reasonably assume to have been made during the period between the laying of the foundation stone and the issue of the second medal. This drawing shows only the bare outlines of the architectural block, but from these outlines one can see that the final conception of the plan had already been reached.

The main body of the church, thus designed early in 1663, was not constructed till much later. Work was first carried ahead on the façade and on the sanctuary in which the picture of the Madonna was to be enshrined, and between these two blocks of building the old church still continued for a long time to remain intact. Shortly after the death of Alexander VII the work on the façade and sanctuary was completed.⁸⁵

82. Obverse: "Alexander. VII. Pont. Max. An. VIII." (the small letters "G. M." on the cutting of the arm stand for Gaspare Meolo, the artist). Reverse: "Immaculae Virgini. Vot.—Romae." According to the inscription therefore the medal was struck in the eighth year of Alexander's pontificate, i. e. between April 7, 1662, and April 6, 1663. So the alteration of plan must have been made during those months between the laying of the foundation stone September 29, 1662, and April 6, 1663.

83. The drawing in P VII 10, f. 105v/106r is signed in Rainaldi's own handwriting: "Eq.s Carolus Rainaldus Inv." (504×750 mm.). The inscription in the frieze gives the supposed date of completion, not that on which the work was begun. It runs: "S. P. Q. R. Vot. Sol. Alexan. VII. P. M. S. Mariae in Porticu A. Fundam. Pos. A. D. MDCLXVI." In the original the date 1666 is clearly legible, not 1665. On the medal the design is necessarily somewhat compressed, through lack of space but apart from this it corresponds exactly with the drawing. The only difference is that the pairs of flying cupids above the statues of the saints do not yet appear in the drawing.

The completed façade bears the same inscription as the drawing, but with the date 1665. This must represent the date of the completion of the lower story of the façade. The whole façade was not completed till 1667 (see below). The actually existing upper story differs from the design as shown in the drawing and on the medal by a further development on two points. The middle window is surmounted by a massive segmental pediment and the great triangular gable is now broken. Both elements repre-

sent an increased division and disintegration of the structural mass. More than three years had elapsed between the production of the medal and drawing and the completion of these parts of the building. The whole sculptural decoration, which alone gave to the façade the desired appearance of splendor, had finally been abandoned. The very insignificant coat-of-arms in the segmental gable of the upper story was placed there only in 1747. The engraving by Falda (Fig. 53) made during the construction of the church still followed the design on the medal as regards the crowning gable, but already differs from the medal design in the gable above the window of the upper story.

84. Chig. P VII 10, f. 102v/103r (530×724 mm.). The drawing is by Rainaldi's own hand as the handwriting incontestably shows. Such a drawing of the site would only have been of value as long as the plans for the building had not finally crystallized. The purpose was to make clear to the pope the relation between the proposed structure and the requirements of the site, especially as regarded the apse, which according to this design projected slightly beyond the existing blocks of houses. The corrections in pencil at this point show that there had been discussions about this critical question, and that in this drawing Rainaldi is demonstrating a proposal whereby this part also of the apse could be enclosed by buildings (as were the entire sides of the church). In the actual construction this suggestion was not followed and the position of the building today corresponds fairly closely with the plan of the site (Fig. 55).

85. Marracci, *op. cit.*, p. 122: Sanctuarium and façade completed "circa la metà del presente anno 1667."

On October 24, 1667, i. e. about five years after the commencement of the building, the wall between the old church and the sanctuary was pulled down, and the picture of the Madonna was transferred to the new apse.⁸⁶ Then followed a complete pause. It was not until 1673 that work was taken up again with feverish activity because of the proposed consecration of the whole building in the Holy Year of 1675. This actually took place on December 8, 1675, although the church was still largely lacking in decoration. The subsequent work of completion lasted till 1728.

THE FAÇADE OF S. MARIA IN CAMPITELLI

It is with reason that the façade of this church (Figs. 52-54) has time and again been described as reminiscent of classical antiquity in its latter phase and classical ruins.⁸⁷ Undoubtedly the inspiration of this work is partly to be found in a very profound feeling for the later Roman architecture. The façade strikes one as an artistic re-creation of the wall in a Roman bath. This impression is due to a conglomeration of columns arranged on different planes and in different groupings.

It is well known that in Rome from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards the column was an element of ever-increasing importance, till in edifices of the Full Baroque such as Lunghi's façade of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, Cortona's S. Maria in Via Lata, Bernini's colonnade on the square of St. Peter's, etc., its full plastic value was developed. S. Maria in Campitelli is in this respect only a link in the general line of development. But every artist had his own special way of employing the column in the structural scheme. To anyone who has followed the analysis of S. Andrea della Valle it will be at once evident that the structural frame of S. Maria in Campitelli is identical with that of S. Andrea. Here again an aedicula extending through the two stories is enclosed in a still larger aedicula and onto this closed system the two outer compartments of the lower story are as it were hung.

On the other hand, just as in S. Andrea, the outermost compartments must also be regarded as an integral part of the whole façade, especially as they are organically related by the small orders and window gables to the central compartment.⁸⁸ If they

86. Marracci, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff. For the later history of the completion of the building see: Marracci, 2nd. ed., 1675, pp. 140 ff. and Erra, *Storia dell'immagine e chiesa di S. Maria in Portico*, Rome, 1750, pp. 53 ff. Also Ferraironi, *op. cit.*, p. 17. A *chirografo* of Innocent XI of September 3, 1679, directs that the fountain which till then had stood before the church (Fig. 53) should be transferred to its present position at the east end of the piazza. For this there is a drawing in the Archivio di Stato, Cartella 81, R. 304.

87. See especially Hempel, *Rainaldi*, p. 46.

88. The gable motive over the window in the outer division is repeated in the gable of the window of the upper story. The "Capitol motive" of the outer divisions is not repeated in the central division. The two columns of the main entrance are placed here not in recesses but in front of the wall, so that they seem to emphasize the dynamic concentration of the façade towards the center. Yet the eye is bound to relate the outer and central columns, not only because of their equal height, but more

especially because of the complete similarity in the details.

The side divisions are derived directly from Michelangelo's Capitol Palaces and not from the façade of St. Peter's. In this connection we may recall the fact that Rainaldi had special associations with the Capitol. It was his father Girolamo who was in charge of the rebuilding of the Palace of Senators and who later began the construction of the palace on the left, the Capitoline Museum, which was only completed by Carlo under Alexander VII. Carlo Rainaldi even planned to alter the aspect of the square so as to make it correspond with the taste of the Seicento. In a design by his own hand (cod. Chig. P VII 13, f. 5v/6r) the most important feature is the removal of the fountain before the Palace of Senators far out into the square. This idea opens interesting vistas in regard to the problem of a conflict of directions, for thereby a strongly accentuated longitudinal line of orientation would have been introduced into Michelangelo's very definitely centralized square.

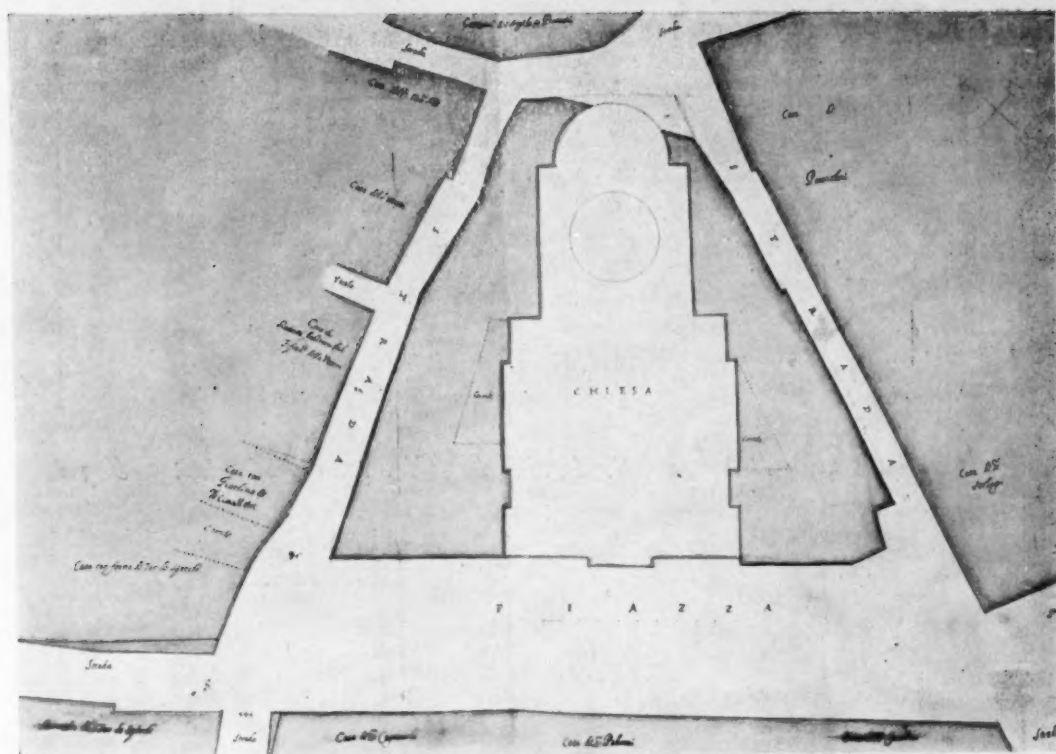


FIG. 56—Plan by Carlo Rainaldi showing Situation of S. Maria in Campitelli

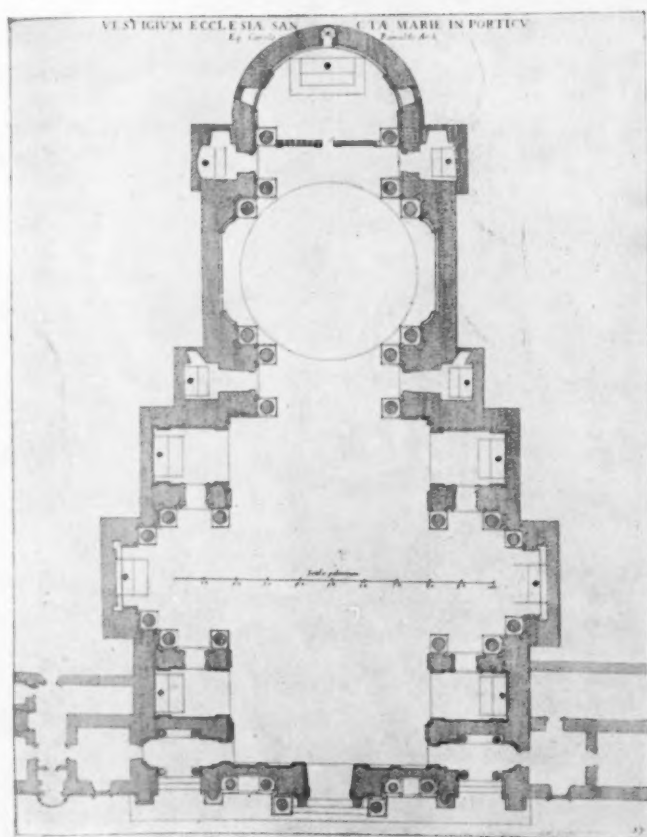


FIG. 57—Ground Plan of S. Maria in Campitelli, by Carlo Rainaldi



FIG. 58—Project by Girolamo Rainaldi for S. Lucia in Bologna, 1623

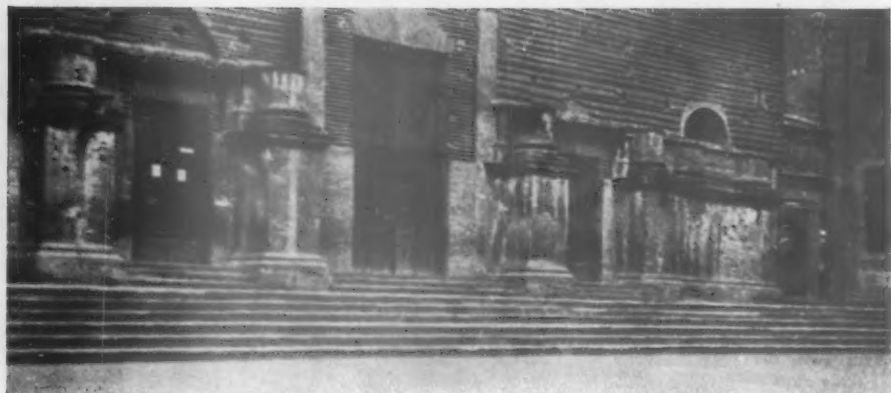


FIG. 59—*Bologna: S. Lucia, by Girolamo Rainaldi. 1623*

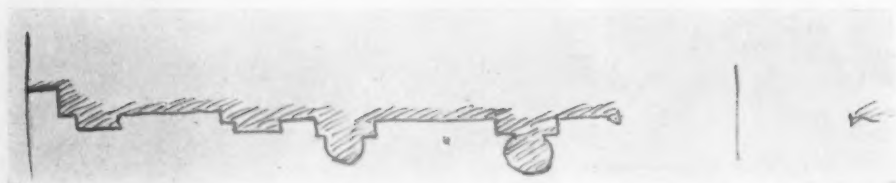


FIG. 60—*Rough Sketch of Plan of S. Lucia, by Girolamo Rainaldi (left half)*



FIG. 61—*Ascoli-Piceno: Chiesa del Carmine, by Carlo Rainaldi. 1651*



FIG. 62—*Ascoli-Piceno: S. Angelo Custode, by Carlo Rainaldi. 1679*

are so regarded they are seen to be bounded on one side by a pilaster and on the other by a half-column. Although these two orders lack equivalence in quality, the fact that they are placed on the same level gives them equivalence of function. If, however, these two differing members, column and pilaster, are to be regarded as equal, it runs counter not only to the connection of the half-column with the aedicula, but to the fact that, according to the original design (Fig 52), the pilaster on either side of the church is also regarded as part of the adjoining palace. The façades of these palaces were terminated at the furthestmost side by pilasters crowned by the Chigimonti, and these pilasters call most definitely for a corresponding boundary of the palace façades on the side of the church. This dual function of the pilasters—each of them being connected with both palace and church—leads us back again to that principle of ambiguity, the very essence of which is in-determinable, fluctuating movement.

The half-column, in the lower as well as the upper story, corresponds to the complete column forming the boundary of the inner compartment, so that we have here a gradation from pilaster, through half-column to column. But instead of the clarity of a design such as that of S. Susanna where each enclosed compartment is framed on both sides by an identical order, the ambiguity is here accentuated because the principle of the dual function of the orders is added to that of gradation. In this façade we can see not only the early Baroque conception of a graded concentration but simultaneously a fluctuating movement blurring the clear divisions of the architecture, such as is characteristic of mannerism. It is this combination of two principles so totally different which gives to this façade its unique character—its peculiar fascination as well as the repulsion which it sometimes inspires.⁸⁹

Rainaldi's conception was only possible in a façade composed on the lines of the aediculae. His task was to combine the aedicula structure with the principle of articulated mass concentration as found in early Roman Baroque. In order therefore to appreciate clearly the place of the work in a more general setting we must turn to the genesis of the aedicula façade.

GIROLAMO RAINALDI AND THE AEDICULA FAÇADE

The type of façade with two aediculae enclosed one in the other, is very definitely not Roman, as will be confirmed by anyone acquainted with the development of church façades in Rome. A long and logical process of evolution, representing a

89. We shall confine ourselves to indicating the general principles without going too much into details. It can be seen that the wall piers behind the projecting orders are on a level, yet that at the same time the wall between and the entablature above project progressively from the outer to the inner division. The two recessed columns are a motive worthy of special treatment. We can only refer to it briefly. It is an extremely old motive; one can see it in a widely spaced form in the Pantheon, where the columns divide off the chapels lying outside the enclosed ring. In the Florentine Baptistry this Pantheon motive is converted into the more compressed typically Flo-

rentine design where the columns are directly contiguous to the wall. This Tuscan transformation spread from Florence through Giuliano da Sangallo and Cronaca (entrance hall, Sacristy of S. Spirito), Michelangelo (Ricetto), and Ammannati (façade of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Florence) to Pietro da Cortona, through whom the motive was re-established in Rome. From Cortona it was adopted by Rainaldi, who at the same time took over other features of Cortona's architecture (first medal for S. Maria in Campitelli). Rainaldi, however, transforms the motive in accordance with Roman plasticity into a deep niche for statuary, so that the columns are as it were frames.

progressive plasticity of wall order and decoration, is brought to a conclusion in S. Susanna.⁹⁰ Subsequently, as could be also seen even in the later works of Maderno himself, a disintegration of that fully developed conception set in. But at no time during this development, any more than in the works of the great masters of the Full Baroque, was the aedicula articulation employed. If in some cases there is an approximation to an aedicula, as in the façade of S. Ignazio, it was an unusual phenomenon on Roman soil, as has indeed been already observed. In S. Ignazio the North Italian derivation has been proved.⁹¹ It is in North Italy too that one finds first the fully developed aedicula façade.

The basic elements of architecture—wall and order—are altogether differently conceived in the aedicula than in a structure based on the logical grouping of masses. According to the aedicula principle the building is coherent in its vertical dimension and is articulated in a few strong accents, but it allows the artist a much greater freedom than the principle of mass combination which affects and determines every detail of the structure. In the aedicula type of building the orders are the decisive element; apart from this, in the wall and decoration, the artist has free scope. This liberty, as contrasted to the compulsive laws of mass grouping, is as characteristic of North Italian architecture as is the great value given to the column, which there continues to be a vital feature throughout the whole of the Cinquecento.

It is not possible to trace the evolution stage by stage of the aedicula principle, as up to the present the subject has not been studied. Here we can only note that in the first half of the seventeenth century characteristic examples of the fully developed type are to be found in Milan, for instance in Fr. Maria Ricchini's entrance to the Ospedale Maggiore (after 1625) or in his façade of S. Giuseppe.⁹² Meanwhile this type of structure had also begun to extend southwards. The most important document is for us Girolamo Rainaldi's design for the façade of S. Lucia in Bologna, the construction of which never advanced beyond the first stages (Figs. 58-60).⁹³

This design represents already an elaboration of the simple aedicula motive which was not actually executed till thirty years later, when S. Maria in Campitelli was constructed by Carlo, his son. In it the arrangement of the orders represents a graduated increase in value from the simple pilaster, through the projecting pilaster and the half-column to the three-quarter-column. Girolamo was a Roman; but as a

The proposed statues were unfortunately never executed. The idea of placing sculpture between columns seems to have come from Lunghi's façade of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, where the statuary was equally never executed. The motive of the recessed columns is finally used by Fuga in the façade of S. Maria della Morte in Rome. This façade is very near to Ammannati's S. Giovanni Evangelista, and is an interesting example of the revival or survival of tendencies of the Cinquecento in the Settecento.

90. It was Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 1st. ed., 1888, pp. 84 ff., who first drew attention, and in a masterly way, to this development. See also Giovannoni's classical work: *Chiese della seconda metà del Cinquecento in Roma*, in *L'Arte*, 1912/3, reprinted in: *Saggi sull'Architettura del Rinascimento*, 1931, pp. 179 ff. As we are here concerned with the

general line of development only, we need not deal with the variations it presents, which can easily be demonstrated.

91. D. Frey in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, III (1924), p. 29.

92. For the history of the construction see Hoffmann in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 1934, p. 92. The construction was begun before 1619, but the façade was only completed after 1630. Preliminary stages can be seen in Pellegrino Tibaldi's altars in Milan Cathedral of about 1585, where the same principle is already fully developed with different fanciful variations.

93. This project of 1623 was first published by A. Foratti in *Comune di Bologna*, 1932. Passeri, *Vite...*, ed. Hess, 1934, pp. 216/7, speaks of the church.

result of his activity during many years in Parma and Piacenza, not only does much of his architectural detail derive from North Italy, but he also took over the North Italian conception of façade composition and united it with the Roman principle of mass grouping. It cannot be denied therefore that Carlo Rainaldi was faithful to the tradition inherited from his father, although he developed still further the typically Roman idea of a severely logical composition, simultaneously with the Full Baroque conception of mighty forms and great plasticity.

The combination in S. Maria in Campitelli of the North Italian aedicula with the Roman conception of mass concentration bore unexpected fruit. The very individual and unique façade conceptions of the great architects of the Full Baroque period could not be adopted as popular prototypes. A more achievable type of façade appeared for the first time in Rainaldi's S. Maria in Campitelli, with the aedicula conception in a Roman guise, where the vertical impulse and rich mass articulation reflect the tendencies of the middle of the century. After the construction of this church, the same type of façade appeared repeatedly in Rome,⁹⁴ with individual simplifications of the design, and from there it spread throughout Italy⁹⁵ and Europe. In such a building as the church of Johann-Nepomuk by the brothers Asam in Munich (1733-46) we see its final and late Baroque development.

THE INTERIOR OF S. MARIA IN CAMPITELLI

The enlargement scheme of the first church (Fig. 40) stands in a clearly defined line of development. From the fifteenth century onwards the old problem of combining a central dome with a nave had been solved in two fundamentally different ways. According to one conception the two different spatial units were fused into an organic entity, in other words they were based on one and the same principle — be it the principle of sequence, or of mass combination, or the dynamic principle — while according to the other conception their divergent character was preserved by making them simply contiguous without any organic interconnection.

The organic principle can be traced from Brunelleschi's S. Spirito up to Scamozzi's plan for the cathedral in Salzburg and from S. Andrea in Mantua to the Gesù and the great number of buildings which derive from it. The second principle, by which the two fundamental structural forms remain isolated, was perhaps developed for the first time by Michelozzi in the Annunziata in Florence, and was often employed later in those cases where a dome had to be added to a previously existing nave. This solution, however, was no mere makeshift; it represents, on the contrary, a definite

94. For instance S. Apollinare, S. Caterina della Ruota, SS. Trinità in Via Condotti. Rainaldi himself employed at a much earlier date a simplified form of the same type in small churches. In the Chiesa del Carmine in Ascoli Piceno, the façade, which was constructed in 1651 after a design by Rainaldi, represents two aediculae on different planes (Fig. 61). In the same town he erected much later, in 1679, the small uncompleted façade of S. Angelo Custode (Fig. 62), the completed form of which would have been necessarily such as Hempel describes it (*op. cit.*

p. 74). Here again he had planned two aediculae, the inner one of columns, the outer one of pilasters; as the façade, however, is very narrow there is no compartment between the two orders.

95. Compare, for instance, S. Caterina in Casale Monferrato (eighteenth century) or the cathedral in Syracuse. The façade of S. Maria ai Scalzi in Venice (Architect Sardi, 1683/9) is a good example of the developed aedicula type with typical North Italian classicist features.

architectural outlook as can be seen in works all of a piece such as S. Maria della Pace in Rome or Antonio da Sangallo's designs for S. Tolomeo di Nepi.⁹⁶

If the organic unification of a complex conformation of space may be justly regarded as an inheritance from the Gothic, one may equally see the classical principle in the separable juxtaposition of individual units of space.⁹⁷ This is more or less evident in the ground plan. But if we consider the elevation or, in other words, the optical impression, we are faced with complexities. It is the "Gothic" conception which can be clearly and immediately apprehended on entering the church, and the "classical" conception which is in comparison complicated and full of unexpected surprises. For in this latter type of design we pass up the nave into an open domed space, of the form of which the planning of the nave gives us no indication. It is to this type of design that Rainaldi's proposed enlargement of S. Maria in Campitelli obviously belongs. It is characteristic of him that he unites two incongruous forms of space and thereby creates a structure rich in optical effects.

The columns. According to the ground plan of the enlargement scheme the function of the columns is a peculiar one. The isolated columns support the crossing arches, yet at the same time four out of these eight columns continue the line of the nave and direct the spectator's eye towards the choir. This is particularly apparent to anyone looking up the church from the entrance. But this dynamic Baroque conception would be only one part of the whole phenomenon. In proportion as one approaches the region of the dome, not only will the completely new form of space entail a re-orientation but one will also perceive that the four columns placed in the angles of the crossing piers stand in an absolutely different relation to the wall, although their functional significance as supports of the crossing arches is identical. These columns on the transverse axis are placed in rectangular niches, while those on the long axis are detached and stand in front of a level wall surface; they thus not only fulfil a structural function but simultaneously express a longitudinal line of direction.

Here we must turn for a moment to the general question of the disposal of the columns in a domed interior. The idea of the early Renaissance, during the second half of the Quattrocento, was, in accordance with classical prototypes, to support the arches of the crossing on four columns placed in rectangular niches in the piers of the dome: a significant example of this arrangement is to be seen in S. Bernardino in Urbino.⁹⁸ The second possible arrangement, placing the columns in front and away from the piers of the crossing, can already be seen in Bramante's early designs for St. Peter's. A great many subsequent buildings were erected in accordance with one or the other of these two principles. In Rome itself it was not till the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century that as a result of North Italian influence churches were erected where the crossing was supported by columns, for

96. The drawings in the Uffizi for this church were published as designs for S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini in Rome by D. Frey, *Michelangelo-Studien*, 1920, pp. 67ff. The right attribution of these ground plans we owe to Giovannoni, *Saggi...* l.c., pp. 111ff.

97. L. H. Heydenreich, in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, 1931, pp. 282 ff.,

in his article on the Annunziata in Florence, was the first to discuss the two forms of structural grouping.

98. Traditional attribution of the building to Bramante. Ground plan in Giovannoni, *Saggi...*, 1931, pp. 68/9, fig. 27.



FIG. 63—*Rome: SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini,*
by Paolo Maggi. 1614



FIG. 64—*Rome: S. Adriano,*
by Martino Lunghi the Younger. c. 1656



FIG. 65—*Bologna: S. Pietro*



FIG. 66—*Monte Compatri: Cathedral. South Transept by Carlo Rainaldi; Nave by G. B. Soria*



FIG. 67—*Monte Compatri: Cathedral. Bay between old Nave and Carlo Rainaldi's Domed Extension*

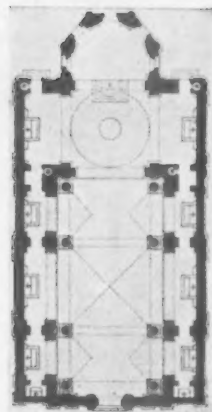


FIG. 68—*Ground Plan of S. Salvatore, Bologna, by Magenta. 1605-23*



FIG. 69—*Monte Compatri: Cathedral. View from Soria's Nave into Carlo Rainaldi's Dome*



FIG. 70—*Bologna: S. Salvatore (View toward Dome), by Magenta*

instance Mascherino's S. Salvatore in Lauro⁹⁹ or Paolo Maggi's SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini (Fig. 63).¹⁰⁰

But besides these simple and unambiguous arrangements of the columns of the crossing, there exists yet another possibility, namely to combine the two principles—the columns in niches and the free-standing columns—in one and the same crossing. One of the earliest examples of this conception is in Genga's S. Giovanni Battista in Pesaro, and it is significant that the construction of this church was begun in 1543.¹⁰¹ Thereafter a small number of buildings were erected which incorporate the same idea (Fig. 65), and where again columns with the same structural function are related in different ways to the wall. These were followed by still more complicated designs, as is the church of S. Adriano in Rome by Martino Lunghi the Younger,¹⁰² where the crossing arches of the oval dome are supported on the side of the nave by columns and on the side of the apse by pilasters (Fig. 64).

The Cathedral in Monte Compatri. The same problems which were presented by the proposed enlargement of S. Maria in Campitelli, had to be dealt with by Rainaldi in his earliest building, the Cathedral in Monte Compatri (Figs. 66, 67, 69).¹⁰³ Here it was already a question of enlarging a small country church and Rainaldi's solution was even then on the same lines as the enlargement plan of S. Maria in Campitelli, some decades later. The domed extension is simply attached to the older nave by means of a narrow bay, which by creating a deep shadow between the two buildings only serves to accentuate the complete independence of the two units of space.

In this church the disposition of the isolated columns in the domed interior is very informative. The eight identical columns which support the crossing arches correspond more or less to the design of SS. Trinità de' Pellegrini. But Rainaldi was not satisfied here with the columns merely placed at angles before the crossing piers but has in each case combined every pair of columns with another pair in the form of a cross, in which each of the two columns on the same axis has a different function: the column which stands out in the church and supports the arch corresponds to a column which has no similar structural function and which is half recessed in the wall.¹⁰⁴

99. The building was partly erected under Mascherino after the fire of 1591 up to 1600. Regarding Mascherino see Golzio in *Dedalo*, X (1929/30), pp. 164-94. The history of S. Salvatore has recently been described by Astolfi in *Rassegna Marchigiana*, XI (1933), pp. 210 ff. P. Rotondi (in the same volume, pp. 274 ff.) attributes too much importance to the influence of S. Salvatore upon S. Maria in Campitelli.

100. Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture...*, Rome, 1763, p. 103, gives the year 1614 as the date of the completion of the church interior.

101. See Vasari, ed. Milanesi, VI, pp. 320/1.

102. The redecoration of the church may have been finished about 1656. See the inscriptions: Forcella, *Inscrizioni...* di Roma, II, No. 152/3.

Of the greatest importance for Carlo Rainaldi was the Cathedral of S. Pietro in Bologna (Fig. 65). A pair of coupled columns—very similar to those in S. Maria in Campitelli—are placed under the arch of the crossing and indicate a longitudinal orientation. On the corresponding place before the apse there is only one column, standing in an angle between two walls. About the history of the construction of S. Pie-

tro see: Cantagalli, in *Comune di Bologna*, 1934, pp. 48 ff.

103. Mandl in Thieme-Becker, XXVII, p. 578, rightly recognized that Rainaldi's domed portion and choir were added to the older nave of G. B. Soria. The fact that there was an earlier and a later period of construction can be seen with singular clearness even from the exterior of the building (Fig. 66). But I do not think Mandl is right in dating Rainaldi's portion as late as the sixties. One finds in the outside wall of the transverse (closed from inside) a window in the "Palladio-motive" exactly in the same style as was used by the father, Girolamo Rainaldi, in S. Teresa in Caprarola (completed 1620). This early motive alone, which Rainaldi never used in his later years, proves that Monte Compatri is one of his earliest buildings.

104. The half columns have equally a counterpart in the corners of the transept so that one has here a ground plan which differs only from that of the church of the Madonna di Biagio in Montepulciano through the existence of the isolated columns.

The rich complexity of this dome interior is not due merely to the large number of columns but also to the conflicting way in which they are disposed. For here equal elements are united in a compact group and are yet made to fulfil divergent functions.

The elements of the present ground plan of S. Maria in Campitelli. It has always been recognized that in the ground plan of the building as finally completed we may see two different structures which have been thrust together (Fig. 57). The anterior and larger structure consists of the oblong main building with three chapels on each side. Both in size and significance the chapels differ completely, the middle chapels being richly adorned with columns and so predominant in size that they give the impression of a transept flanked on each side by a small chapel. This impression is most strongly confirmed by the interior elevation (Figs. 72, 73), for the vaulting of the "transept" is almost as high as the barrel roof of the nave, while the dark flanking chapels are so low that between them and the main cornice there is room for "choretti."

The smaller structure consists of the domed interior preceded and followed by a bay on each side, out of which open four small chapels, closed by doors. Fundamentally then the ground plans of the two structures represent similar designs, although it must be at once emphasized that the actual visual impression of the building would never lead one to surmise it. Nevertheless the fact remains that Rainaldi built up both forms from the same basic elements and that it is only because of his particular treatment of the wall that this is imperceptible. The common denominator in the ground plans of both parts of S. Maria in Campitelli can be seen in the State Archive project of 1661 for the churches on the Piazza del Popolo (Fig. 11).

The project in the State Archives. The ground plan of this project can be regarded in two ways. On the one hand it can be seen as a Greek cross, of the type of St. Peter's, but with the important difference that the side chapels do not open onto the transept. It is this very alteration which makes possible the alternative way of considering the plan: as the two small chapels on each side open only onto the long axis one has the impression of a row of three chapels on each side, with a transeptlike dominating central feature. On the top of the centralized conception of a Greek cross is as it were superimposed the idea of a nave crossed by a predominant transverse line and flanked by side chapels.

But it does not follow from this that the design of S. Maria in Campitelli is a direct transposition from the project in the State Archives for the churches on the Piazza del Popolo. There was another and more immediate source of inspiration.

S. Salvatore in Bologna. From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards rectangular churches had been erected in which the nave was accentuated by a central transverse line.¹⁰⁵ Magenta's S. Salvatore in Bologna is an example of an edifice in which this tendency is definitely evolved (Figs. 68, 70).¹⁰⁶ In this case the derivation

105. Perhaps the earliest large building with the line of a pseudo-transept across the anterior of the church is Giov. Battista Bertani's S. Barbara in Modena (1562/5). Here the nave consists of a row of four rectangular spaces the first and third of which have cross vaultings and are dark, and the second and fourth are brightly illuminated through windows in curiously shaped turretlike domes. But only the first "transept" consists of a real crossing with

adjoining chapels, which emphasize its transverse effect. I am very much indebted to Dr. Ernst Gombrich for directing my attention to this very important building.

106. Construction of the building: 1605-1623. About Magenta's importance see Gurlitt, *Barockstil in Italien*, 1887, pp. 142 ff. The article in Thieme-Becker, XXIII, p. 554, is inadequate.

from the classical bath is still obvious. The evolution of the conception can be traced through Michelangelo's S. Maria degli Angeli, Pellegrino Tibaldi's S. Fedele in Milan, down to S. Salvatore.

The main hall of a classical bath (*tepidarium*) was used for passage both in the longitudinal and the transverse sense. But because the three bays were always made identical in size the crossing of axial lines is not perceptible in the ground plan. It is apparent only in the elevation of the building, where the high vaulting of the central bays contrasts with the low doorways of the rooms left and right (Fig. 71). Magenta was the first to reinforce these differences in the elevation by corresponding variations in the ground plan.

The similarity between S. Salvatore and S. Maria in Campitelli is not confined to a fundamentally identical conception of the transverse line. In S. Salvatore also a domed interior is attached to the nave. But in this church the structure is based on the organic principle previously mentioned. For the dome is here an integral part of the articulation of the whole building, and does not form a completely new and independent unit, as it does with Rainaldi.¹⁰⁷

The significance of the transverse line. The crossing of the nave midway by an accentuated transverse line must be interpreted in the same way as the "cross of directions" in the central type of building. The line of orientation in the nave is broken: on entering the church the eye is immediately drawn to the transverse line and the crossing of the axial lines confronts one with a complicated situation. This checking of the longitudinal line by a transverse line is the most effective means for creating in the structural form as such an impression of unrest. It is yet another manifestation of that conception which we have already defined as the "principle of ambiguity."

It is hardly necessary to point out that this complication of the line of direction is strongly opposed to the "classical" standpoint. But it depends on the scheme of wall decoration if and to what extent the confusion of axial lines inherent in the structural form shall be still further accentuated.¹⁰⁸

107. The relation between S. Salvatore and S. Maria in Campitelli was already noticed by A. E. Brinckmann in the latest edition of the *Handbuch für Kunstwissenschaft (Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in den romanischen Ländern)*.

108. The history of the transverse line across the nave has as far as I know never received proper attention. The question deserves a special and close examination. Only some points can here be noticed. In the one-nave type of church from the end of the sixteenth century onwards the accentuation of the transverse line is not a rare feature. On Roman soil one could instance S. Brigida, S. Egidio in Trastevere, S. Francesco di Paola, etc. Rainaldi himself followed the same principle in the interior of the small church of S. Maria del Sudario (see below). The placing of a larger middle chapel between two smaller ones can be seen for example in an interesting ground plan, of 1593, for S. Maria della Scala in Rome (Uffizi, Dis. Arch. 6735). Girolamo Rainaldi's church of S. Teresa near Caprarola represents a unique solution of the problem. The accentuation of the transverse axial line across the center of the nave is

effected by an interior structural arrangement derived from the Palladio motive. It is evident that the design of this church has been influenced by that of Pellegrino Tibaldi's SS. Martiri in Turin (laying of the foundation stone in 1577), where the same motive is twice repeated. Monumental double pilasters stand in the middle of the wall of the nave, thereby dividing the nave into two great quadrangles. The interior of Longhena's Chiesa degli Scalzi in Venice is a very interesting contemporary parallel to S. Maria in Campitelli. I do not believe that the conception of this church was uninfluenced by Rainaldi's work, although the construction of the Chiesa degli Scalzi is generally dated 1646-1689 (Giulio Lorenzetti, *Venezia e il suo estuario*, 1926, p. 429, dates the beginning in the year 1660. Ground plan in Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstils*, p. 312).

There is a very close relation between Rainaldi's conception and Juvara's first great design for S. Filippo Neri in Turin. See plan and section in A. E. Brinckmann, *Theatrum Novum Pedemontii*, 1931, pl. 221.

The system of decoration in S. Maria in Campitelli fulfils two completely different functions: it represents at once a dynamic concentration upon the choir and an accentuation of the conflict inherent in the shape of the building (Figs. 72-74). In contrast to the designs inspired by the hall of the classical bath, such as S. Salvatore in Bologna, there are no columns in Rainaldi's nave but only plain pilasters; isolated columns are only found in the "transept" and in the back part of the church. If instead of the large middle chapel on each side of the nave we could imagine the walls as evenly articulated, e. g., in a succession of four small chapels, the design of this church would correspond to that of the "enlargement scheme" with the single difference that we would have here a richer columnar decoration of the domed part of the building. Instead of one column to indicate the axial line double columns are now placed on the long axis, so that by this strong emphasis on the line of orientation the eye is forcibly led to the apse. This dynamic concentration, typical of Full Baroque and completely absent in buildings such as S. Salvatore, is counteracted by the facts already mentioned, namely that the foremost part of the building gives us no indication of the form of the domed space behind and leaves us therefore in uncertainty, and also that the relation between the columns of the crossing and the wall is a varying and divergent one.

These complications are still more accentuated by the development of the transverse line. It must be noticed that the two large chapels correspond in breadth exactly to the bay before the dome, so that in each case the barrel vault is of the same height. Furthermore the depth is the same, and the decorative scheme is identical both as a whole and in detail from the isolated columns to the coffered arches adorned with rosettes, and from the doors and the "choretti" to the circular lintels of the windows. Indeed, even the third column, which placed at right angles supports the crossing of the dome, is repeated again in the chapels, where it is made to bear the triangular pediment. On entering the church, however, it is at first practically impossible to realize this repetition of design, for one sees one wall of each of the two large chapels displayed in full, while the bays connected with the dome are very much foreshortened.

The striking ornamentation of the "transept" and its gilded vaulting strengthens the impression of a transverse line across the nave. But the further one penetrates into the interior, the more noticeable becomes the relation between the columns of the chapels and those of the bay and the clearer becomes the identity in design between chapel and bay. This repetition of the same complex of decoration in both parts of the church produces the impression of a single vast entity of which the structural shape as such gave no indications. We become conscious of the fact that in the elevation both parts of the church are dominated by one and the same principle. All the more marked is the counterpoise of the two large chapels on each side to the dynamic concentration of lines upon the choir.

Simultaneously with this realization of the identity of chapel and bay, one becomes aware of another feature, namely that two identical units are placed in completely incongruous positions: the column that in one place supports a crossing arch, is in another made to support a pediment, and so on. In a building on classical lines, the same elements in the interior decoration are always employed in the same sense, and the decoration in consequence produces an unequivocal and restful impression.

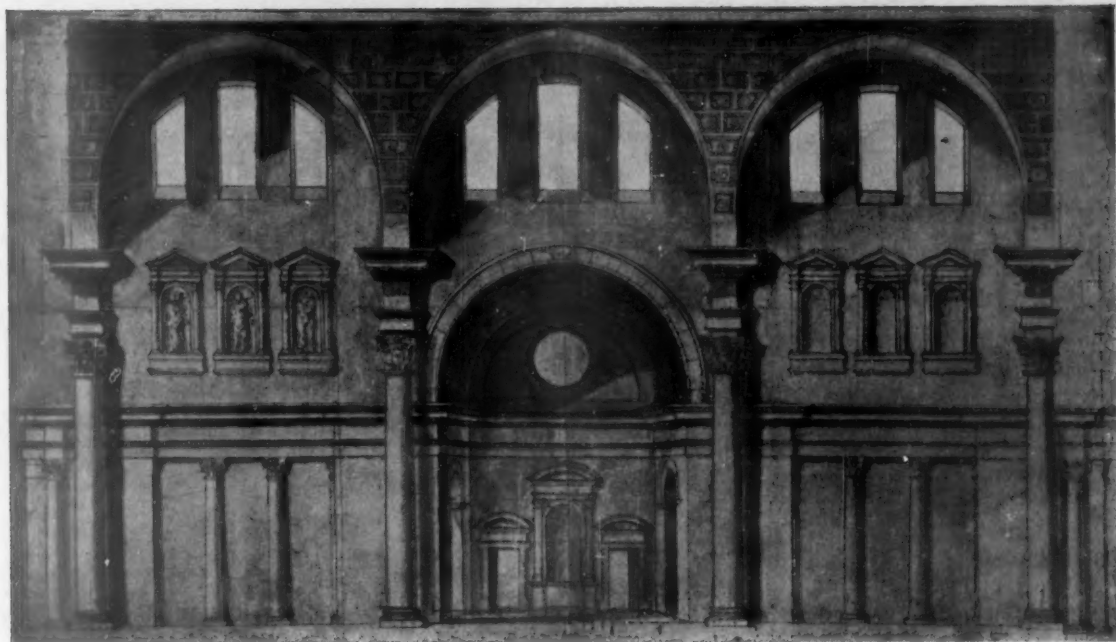


FIG. 71—*Project by Francesco da Sangallo for Restoration of the Baths of Diocletian. Long Wall of Tepidarium*

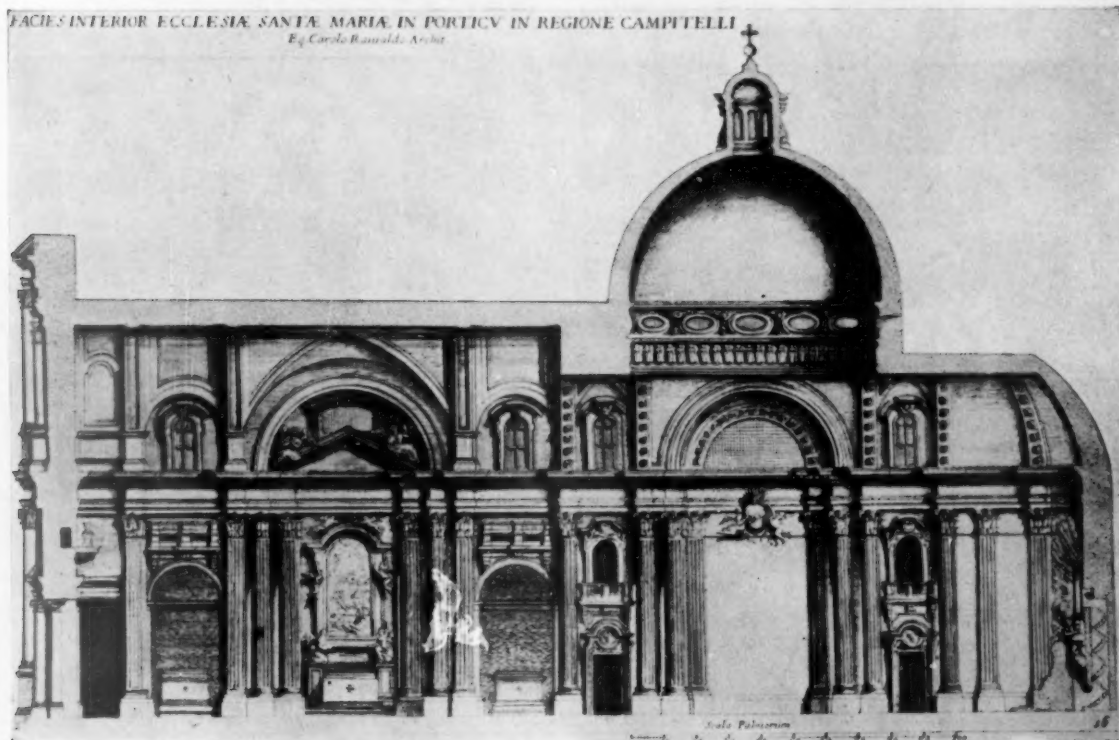


FIG. 72—*Section of S. Maria in Campitelli, by Carlo Rainaldi*



FIG. 73—*Rome: S. Maria in Campitelli (View toward Choir), by Carlo Rainaldi*



FIG. 74—*Rome: S. Maria in Campitelli (View from Choir), by Carlo Rainaldi*



FIG. 75—*Rome, S. Maria della Scala: Chapel Altar, by Girolamo Rainaldi. 1606*

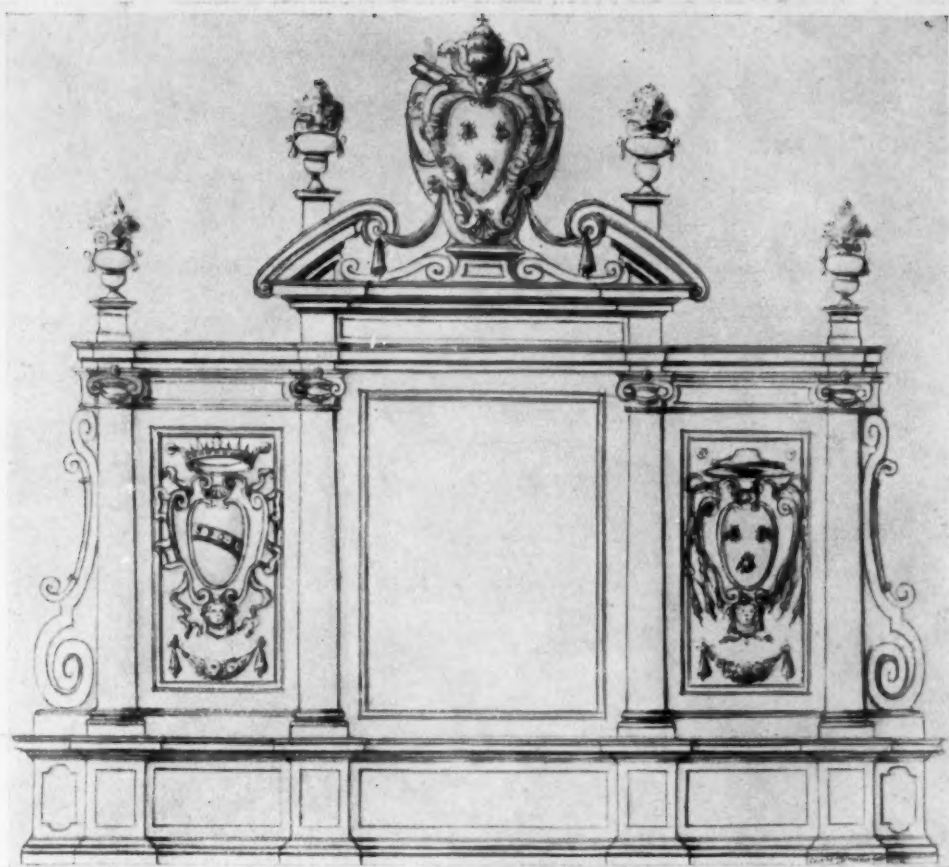


FIG. 76—Design by Carlo Rainaldi for Title Page of Cod. Barb. lat. 4411. 1633



FIG. 77—Project by Carlo Rainaldi for Alteration of Façade of St. Peter's, and for the Towers. 1645



FIG. 78—Project by Girolamo Rainaldi for Alteration of Towers of St. Peter's. 1645



FIG. 79—*Rome: Façade of St. Peter's, by Maderno*



FIG. 80—*Project by Bernini for Alteration of Façade of St. Peter's. 1645*



FIG. 81—*Design by Carlo Rainaldi for S. Marcello. 1682*

In Rainaldi's conceptions, on the other hand, the same elements are given divergent functions, producing the impression of a confusing elaboration.

The results to which this examination of the interior leads us confirm the conclusion to which we had already been brought by the analysis of the façade. Here, as there, the design represents an indissoluble combination of Baroque dynamic conceptions with elements of an ambiguous character. As we have in Michelangelo's Ricetto a static structure which derives its conflicting character from the ambiguity in the treatment of wall, order, and molding, so here, in S. Maria in Campitelli, Carlo Rainaldi evolved a means of uniting a dynamic structure with another, ambiguous, architectural conception.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CARLO RAINALDI

The analysis of S. Maria in Campitelli serves to prove that the classical tendency which appeared suddenly in the style of Carlo Rainaldi in 1662, which is revealed in the churches of the Piazza del Popolo and in S. Andrea della Valle, and can be traced back to the influence of Carlo Fontana is in reality only a short interlude in Rainaldi's long artistic career. In order to illustrate briefly the lines along which his work developed we have selected some material which is either completely new or which has only been insufficiently published.

We may first turn to a drawing which is not directly concerned with architecture. At the request of Cardinal Barberini, Carlo Rainaldi in 1633—therefore very early in his career—made drawings of those hospitals and quarantine buildings which had been erected in Rome during the plague scare in 1629-32.¹⁰⁹ This proof of papal solicitude would be of historical and topographical interest only, if the same volume did not contain two independent drawings by Rainaldi. We shall only mention one—the title page (Fig. 76)—which was certainly not made in accordance with some outside suggestion but represents a completely original conception of the artist. The idea, however, which was worked out here by the twenty-two-year-old Rainaldi was none other than that same type of façade, deriving from the triumphal arch, which he elaborated twenty years later in the design for S. Agnese (Fig. 15), thirty years later in the Vatican project for the churches on the Piazza del Popolo (Fig. 4), and finally repeated with new variations in the façade of S. Maria in Campitelli (Fig. 52).

In the architectural drawing of the title page the ambiguity in the design of the compartments is very noticeable; the inner columns, being united in base and capital with the outer columns, must be regarded as enframing the outer compartments, yet at the same time the same columns through their relation with the cornice and pediment are made to enclose the central blank cartouche.

We have already endeavored to show that the impression of ambiguous movement in this style of architecture arises from the dual function of inner orders, and that it is not therefore a question of subjective interpretation on the part of the onlookers,

109. Bound together as a book: Bibl. Vaticana, cod. Barb. lat. 4411. On f. 20 (14) signature and date: "Carolus Rainaldus Archit. fecit 1633." See Pastor, *Ge-*

schichte der Päpste, XIII, 2, pp. 854 ff. and Oskar Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, 1927, I, Reg. 1507.

but of objective indication in the architectural design itself. We have seen elsewhere¹¹⁰ that this architectural characteristic was first fully developed in Giuliano da Sangallo's Cappella Gondi in 1506, and it is now evident that Rainaldi carries over into the seventeenth century, and develops further, the tradition of those sixteenth century architects who because of their "ambiguous" structures, so different from the "simple" structures, of both Renaissance and Baroque have been called mannerists.¹¹¹

Even when it was a case of making alterations to an already existing building, Rainaldi pursued the same line. When Innocence X, in 1645, took up actively the problem of the towers of St. Peter's, Carlo Rainaldi was one of those who came forward with projects for the towers and suggestions for modernizing the façade (Fig. 77).¹¹² The proposed alterations submitted by the various architects were all made with a view to counteracting the excessive breadth of the existing Maderno façade (Fig. 79). The most important part of Rainaldi's scheme was to have consisted in the enclosing of the central motive of four columns in an aedicula with segmental pediment. The other alterations which are shown in his design, such as the separation of the lower structure of the towers from the façade, removal of the last outer compartment of the attic on each side and its replacement by scrolls, etc. are designed to the same end, namely, to diminish the impression of breadth and to emphasize the vertical movement.¹¹³ But the alterations suggested by Rainaldi have also another result: because of the projection of the cornice above the columns supporting the segmental pediment, these columns are deprived of the neutral character they possessed when they merely enframed the compartments, and new and ambiguous relations are therefore introduced into the façade.

It is very informative to compare Rainaldi's solution with that of Bernini (Fig. 80).¹¹⁴ The latter attained the same end, that of increasing the height of the façade, by placing the outer compartment with the blank windows further back. This *real* shortening of the façade which results in an effective separation of the façade from the towers, made it possible for him to leave the rest of the façade untouched. By this inspired solution, Bernini removed just that part of Maderno's façade which spoilt the consistency of the graded wall units. The composition of Bernini's façade, which now consisted of only the group of eight mighty columns, is of elementary clarity. The problem,

110. *Art Bulletin*, 1934, pp. 208 ff.

111. In the course of this paper attention has several times been drawn to the importance of Girolamo Rainaldi as intermediary between the mannerism of the sixteenth century and the art of Carlo Rainaldi. We would emphasize here again that Carlo Rainaldi's art is not imaginable without this link between the two centuries and between North and Central Italy. As a very characteristic example of Girolamo's style we illustrate here (Fig. 75) an altar in S. Maria della Scala in Rome from 1606. The function of the columns as frames of the central panel is counteracted by the isolating tendency of the small segmental pediment above each column. The details look like cabinet-makers' work. Although Carlo Rainaldi strove very soon for a modern development of the detailed form he never lost completely the paternal pattern.

112. For the history of the towers see Brauer-Wittkower, *Bernini-Zeichnungen*, pp. 39 ff. The pro-

ject here illustrated (Fig. 77), judging from the style we attributed to Girolamo Rainaldi (*Bernini-Zeichnungen*, p. 41, note 2) is still to be attributed on the basis of a contemporary report (see *Bernini-Zeichnungen*) to Carlo Rainaldi. A comparison with the project of Girolamo Rainaldi in cod. Vat. lat. 13442, f. 10 (written on the back: "Giron.o Rainaldi") (Fig. 78), in which he preserves the first story of Bernini's tower and replaces only the second story by a structure of his own design, shows how far Carlo had moved from his father's mannerist conception of detail, although the tradition inherited from his father was especially strong at this relatively early period.

113. For the technical reasons of this proposal see *Bernini-Zeichnungen*, pp. 39 ff. See also especially pp. 67 and 97 for Rainaldi's further projects for the façade and the Piazza of St. Peter's.

114. An exhaustive discussion of this drawing in *Bernini-Zeichnungen*, pp. 41 ff., pl. 156.

therefore, of accentuating the vertical impression of the façade, is solved by the two artists in ways which represent two completely divergent architectural presuppositions.

During his later years Rainaldi was concerned with two extensive schemes which throw great light upon the final stages of his development. He put forward designs for the façade of S. Carlo al Corso and that of S. Marcello. The design for the former (Fig. 83),¹¹⁵ which was made towards the end of the sixties, is very closely connected with a design by Martino Lunghi, who up till his departure from Rome had charge of the construction (Fig. 82).¹¹⁶ Lunghi intended to erect a façade flanked by two towers and deeply recessed and very richly adorned with columns. In so far as the columns were to have been disposed on three planes the design would have been approximately that of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio by the same master.¹¹⁷ The towers with their columns were to be clearly differentiated from the façade itself. Rainaldi proposed an alteration which would have destroyed the clarity of Lunghi's simple and unequivocal design. In Rainaldi's design the trio of columns cannot simply be regarded as a three-plane projection of the same motive. Through slight variations in the original design the columns are involved in an intricate net of relationship. The two foremost columns in each trio combine with the two columns on each side of the main entrance to form an entrance hall with six columns. The projecting effect therefore of the trio of columns is counteracted by the divergent line of the ring of columns round the entrance hall. But this is not all. The two back columns in each trio correspond symmetrically with the columns in the tower so that these four columns together have to be regarded as the enclosure of the side porch. Yet in spite of this connection towards the middle, the tower columns are also part of a consecutive row and belong integrally to the articulation of the side towers.

Through these features the principle of ambiguous movement becomes effective in the third dimension. It is interwoven with another principle, that of plane differentiation, which appears in the façade if it be taken as a whole. If seen thus, the façade can be easily divided into three zones, lying one behind the other, consisting respectively of six, and again six, and finally two columns; these columns, though heterogeneous in function are placed on the same level and consequently

¹¹⁵. Vienna, Albertina.

¹¹⁶. The history of the construction first in Nogara, *SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso (Chiese di Roma illustrate*, No. 3). See also Passeri, ed. Hess, 1934, p. 226. Martino Lunghi was in charge of the building till about 1656/60 (died in Viggiù December 15, 1660). But the engraving showing Lunghi's plan for the church was published before 1640, which can be proved by the fact that Francesco Biglia, to whom the engraving is dedicated, was "primicerio dell'Arciconfraternità" until 1640. All later architects in charge of that building worked on the basis of Lunghi's engraving. On the sheet which is preserved in cod. Chig. P VII 10, f. 21 (Fig. 82) Alexander VII in March, 1665, orders that the obstructing buildings at the back be pulled down and the street shortened, so as to make room for the back part of the church. Between 1660 and 1665 Carlo Fontana superintended the construction. In 1672 the whole building was finished except the façade. Possibly Rainaldi's design

might be dated as late as this year. The façade was only erected in 1682-4 after plans of Cardinal Omodei by Menicucci.

¹¹⁷. In Lunghi's project every column stands on a plane which is clearly differentiated from the plane of the next column. In the façade of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio the planes of the trio of columns are not separable, one plane, so to speak, overlaps the other; through this the three columns form one entity of great plastic value.

A hitherto unmentioned design by Lunghi which is preserved in the Roman Archivio di Stato (cart. 85, R. 493; 807 × 382 mm.—two examples differing very slightly one from another—Fig. 84) is an earlier plan for S. Carlo than the engraved one. The design of the façade in this drawing derived from northern Italy in so far that it shows a very distinct separation of planes. From here Lunghi's development is clearly traceable past the engraved design up to the Roman features of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

have to be regarded as equivalent in value. It is obvious that the composition of this façade which surpasses that of S. Maria in Campitelli both in the richness and the depth of the columnar grouping, results in a still more extreme complexity and an intensification of the ambiguous character.

Rainaldi's particular conceptions which are revealed in the sketch for the façade of S. Carlo al Corso, are still more strikingly developed in the design for the elevation of S. Marcello (Fig. 81). The project must date from about 1682 and was probably made in concurrence with Carlo Fontana, who with his design on classical late Baroque lines easily won the day.¹¹⁸ The first point which must be noticed here is that Rainaldi in this sketch again starts with the idea of two aediculae. But the breaking-up of the planes of the façade is carried much further than in S. Maria in Campitelli. The cylindrical inner aedicula is enclosed in the hollow of an outer aedicula. Not only this, but still closer analysis shows that here, just as in S. Carlo, every order has a dual function: for the columns as well as being essential parts of the particular structural system just described, must also be regarded as a rhythmical articulation, along one plane. It is only if we so regard the design that the columns supporting the two small accessory domes (which are logical spatial substitutes of the outer attached compartments of S. Andrea della Valle and S. Maria in Campitelli) can be said to be rhythmically related to the outer columns of the aediculae. These on their side are connected with the two central columns of the building by the character of the cornice in both stories; for the cornice instead of following the contour of the wall is brought forward so as to unite the inner and outer aediculae on a projecting plane. The back columns of the inner aedicula together with the front columns form the oval-cylindrical alcove, but at the same time they form the boundary on the inner side of the wall compartments, which are framed on the outer side not by columns but by pilasters. Thus, throughout the whole design an effect of ambiguity is created by the linking up along one plane of orders belonging in reality to quite separate and distinct groupings.

The design for S. Marcello is the most important example of Rainaldi's later style. At the end, however, of his career in the service of the Church he was responsible for yet another building, but of such modest proportions that it gave him very little scope for the development of his ideas; namely the little church of S. Maria del Sudario (Figs. 85, 86), for which there exists a design in Rainaldi's own hand.¹¹⁹ Here again he carries out his familiar principle of ambiguity by so designing the façade of the church that it would seem to include the first section of the buildings on either side: this is effected by the outer pilasters surmounted by a broken entablature and by the attic extending beyond the pediment. The actually

118. For the façade of S. Marcello see Coudenhove-Erthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff. In this connection I wish to draw attention to the fact that Carlo Fontana in his scheme followed Lunghi's first project for S. Carlo al Corso (Fig. 84) very closely. Sedlmayr in *Kritische Berichte*, 1931-2, pp. 146 ff., tries to prove that Fontana derived his project from Lunghi's façade of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio. This is obviously wrong.

119. In cod. Chig. P VII 9, f. 94. It is probable that this drawing dates from about 1658, which was approximately when Rainaldi got the order for rebuilding the old church. But Rainaldi's plans were carried out only in the second half of the eighties. The church was finished in 1687. See Hempel, *Rainaldi*, p. 71.

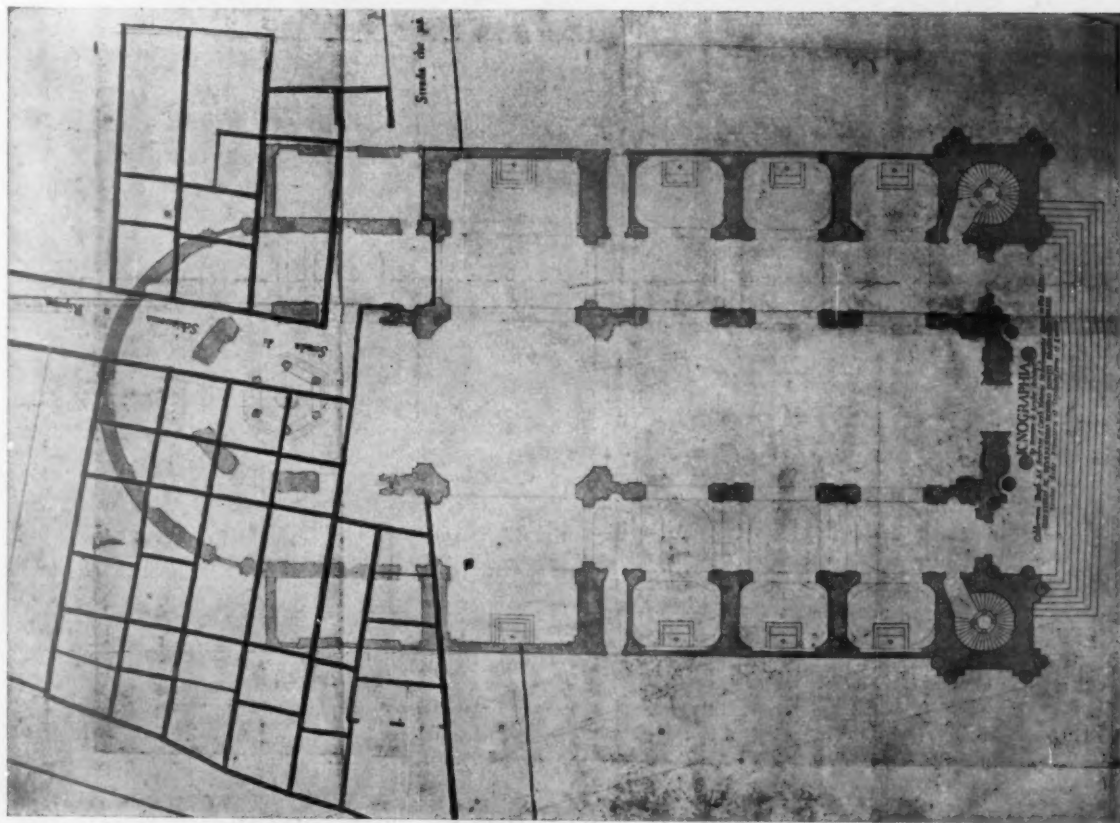


FIG. 82—Ground Plan of S. Carlo al Corso,
by Martino Lunghi the Younger

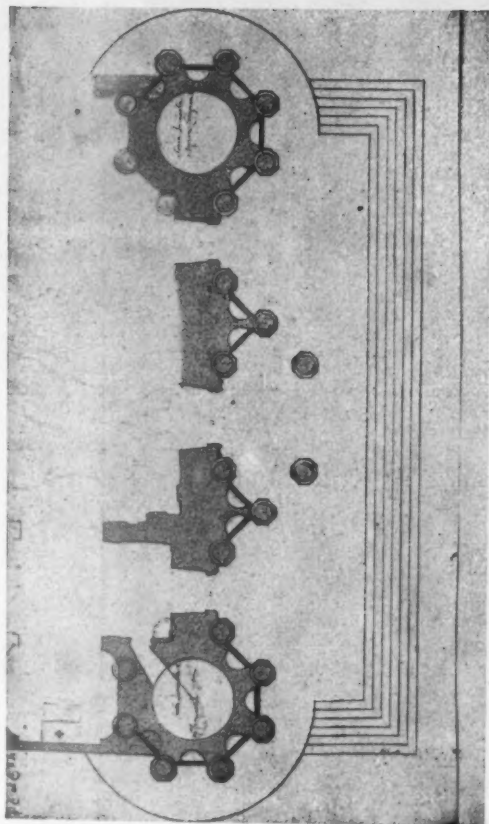


FIG. 83—Project by Carlo Rainaldi for S. Carlo al Corso

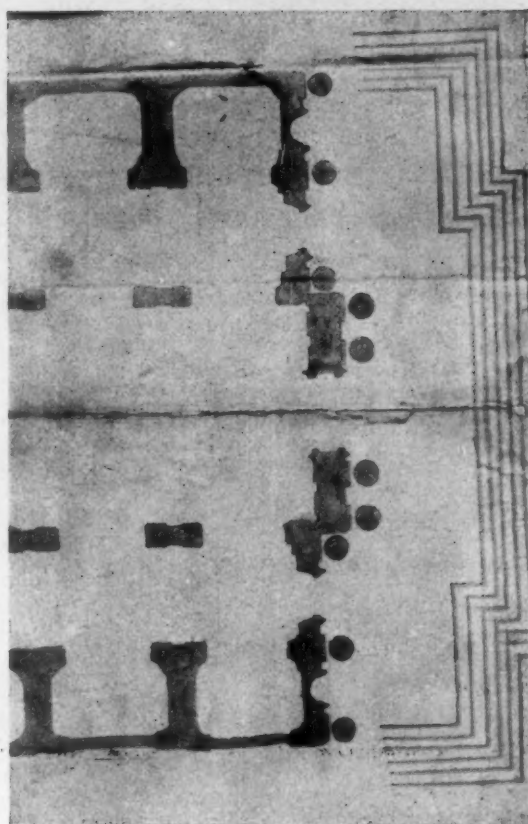


FIG. 84—Detail of Project by Martino Lunghi
the Younger for S. Carlo al Corso

existing two-story façade has been based on Rainaldi's design but differs from it in essential points.

A review of Rainaldi's development during half a century entitles one to say that throughout his whole lifetime he adhered to the principle of intersecting Baroque structure with ambiguous elements. Although his later designs for S. Carlo al Corso and S. Marcello reveal contemporary Roman taste by accentuating the orders plastically, by elaborating the depth through the position of the walls as well as by stressing the vertical lines, the designs are mere exaggerations of this principle and in no way comparable in quality with his masterpiece, S. Maria in Campitelli.

(Translated by Christina Bevan)

NOTES AND REVIEWS

AN ANALYSIS OF POUSSIN'S "ET IN ARCADIA EGO."

In his famous *Et in Arcadia ego* in the Louvre (Fig. 1), Poussin's classic order derives from his effort to show the different nature, or reason, of each person's response to a discovery which has turned the group to reflection. The center of the composition is the point of reference for the attention of each figure. It is the inscription to which the two crouching youths point. The composition consists of four figures symmetrically distributed to right and left of this center. The group may be divided in several ways. First, it may be divided into the group of the two inner crouching figures concerned immediately with the inscription, and the group of the outer standing figures concerned indirectly with it. Each of these groups may be subdivided according to significant symmetrical oppositions. In the inner group is a figure on the left bent over in intensive concentration and pointing to a single letter, thus indicating he is still engaged in deciphering the inscription, which means he has not yet apprehended its significance. Opposed to him is the crouching inner figure on the right who points to the inscription as a whole and looks up at his standing companion, thus indicating he has grasped its significance. The outer group may also be divided into a figure on the left who does not yet know the meaning, since he is concentrating on the crouching man who is still deciphering, and a figure on the right who does know the meaning, which she shows by her reflective calm and the gesture of reassurance in placing her hand on the shoulder of the troubled youth who looks up to her. This subdividing of each group permits a final regrouping, likewise symmetrically disposed about the center, of the two on the left who do not yet know, and the two on the right who already know the significance of the inscription *Et in Arcadia ego*, which, according to Félibien,¹ is meant to show that death is encountered even among the greatest felicities, since the inscription is the epitaph of a former dweller in Arcadia.

This differentiation between the right and left groups cannot be encompassed within a strictly closed system of oppositions, or a purely classic system, since the right group represents a higher stage than the left, and one through which the left group must inevitably pass. The differentiation is therefore marked by a complete subordination of the left group to the center, and an only partial subordination of the right group. The limited subordination of the right group is indicated by the fact that the crouching youth on the right points to the center, but looks up to his companion. She, in turn, is bound to him by her gesture, but he does not fully command her attention, as the other crouching man commands the interest of the standing youth. Her attention has, in fact, already been released from the center, the inscription, and she is freed for quiet, untroubled reflection. It is

she whom Poussin represents as the most highly developed person, in whom the light of reason is most manifest. By no accident she is the only fully erect figure, her attitude denoting independence and self-composure. She is thus not only a component part of a group subordinate to the center, but also half independent of it. In fact, she constitutes a new, a second center in the picture. This is accentuated by her difference in sex from the other three. A woman in whom reason holds sway over physical appetites, as indicated by the disposition of her costume as well as her attitude, she is able to face with composure the prospect of final dissolution, since that nearer death of the sexual life, so much closer for women than for men, holds no terror for her. Thus is heightened her maturity in youth.

It is the problem of rendering various types of human reactions (through which the historical picture is enriched and diversified) in terms of classic moderation, through a harmonious disposition in which the "reason" of each person's action is subsumed under a rationally ordered and tempered whole, that has led Poussin to adopt a pictorial structure of a dual character as the vehicle for his idea. Two opposed structural types are accommodated within this design, the planimetric, bilaterally symmetric, classically closed motive, and the motive of a progression² on the diagonal from left to right, with the figure of the woman as the culmination of this progression. (The reciprocal action of these two structural motives on each other is evident in the partial masking of the diagonal of the tomb by the figures, and in the subtle ambiguity of the figure disposition, at once planimetric and diagonal. The dominant centrality of the inscription is somewhat counteracted by the placement of the largest tree behind the main figure, the woman. Contributory to the same effect is the situation of the vanishing point in her half of the picture.)

A final consideration, on the genesis of this work, will throw additional light on its Poussinesque classicistic character, and the subtle interrelation of structure and idea. Werner Weisbach³ first pointed out the connection between Poussin's two versions of the theme (Figs. 1 and 2)⁴ and Guercino's picture in the

2. While the selection of different moments for the various participants in an action is a typical device of the classicist historical painter, and is considered by Lessing allowable within very restricted limits, Poussin follows no uniform pattern in the use of this time differential. Here he uses it as a unilateral progression—not so in his various versions of the Apollo and Daphne, in several of which there is a striking disregard for even a semblance of unity of time. The complex reciprocal action of temporal and ethical elements in the Israelites Receiving the Manna in the Louvre may also be contrasted with the simple progression in the *Et in Arcadia ego*.

3. *Et in Arcadia ego*, in *Die Antike*, VI (1930), p. 127.

4. O. Grautoff (*Nicholas Poussin, sein Werk und sein Leben*, Munich, 1914, II, pp. 70, 122) dates the first version 1632-35, the second 1638-39. The expansion of space on the second work is typical of a process continuous in Poussin's development. It is essentially an assimilation of Baroque space and its transformation into an extended, classically ordered configuration, this process receiving its highest expression in the landscapes produced from 1648 to 1665.

1. Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1688, II, p. 379.



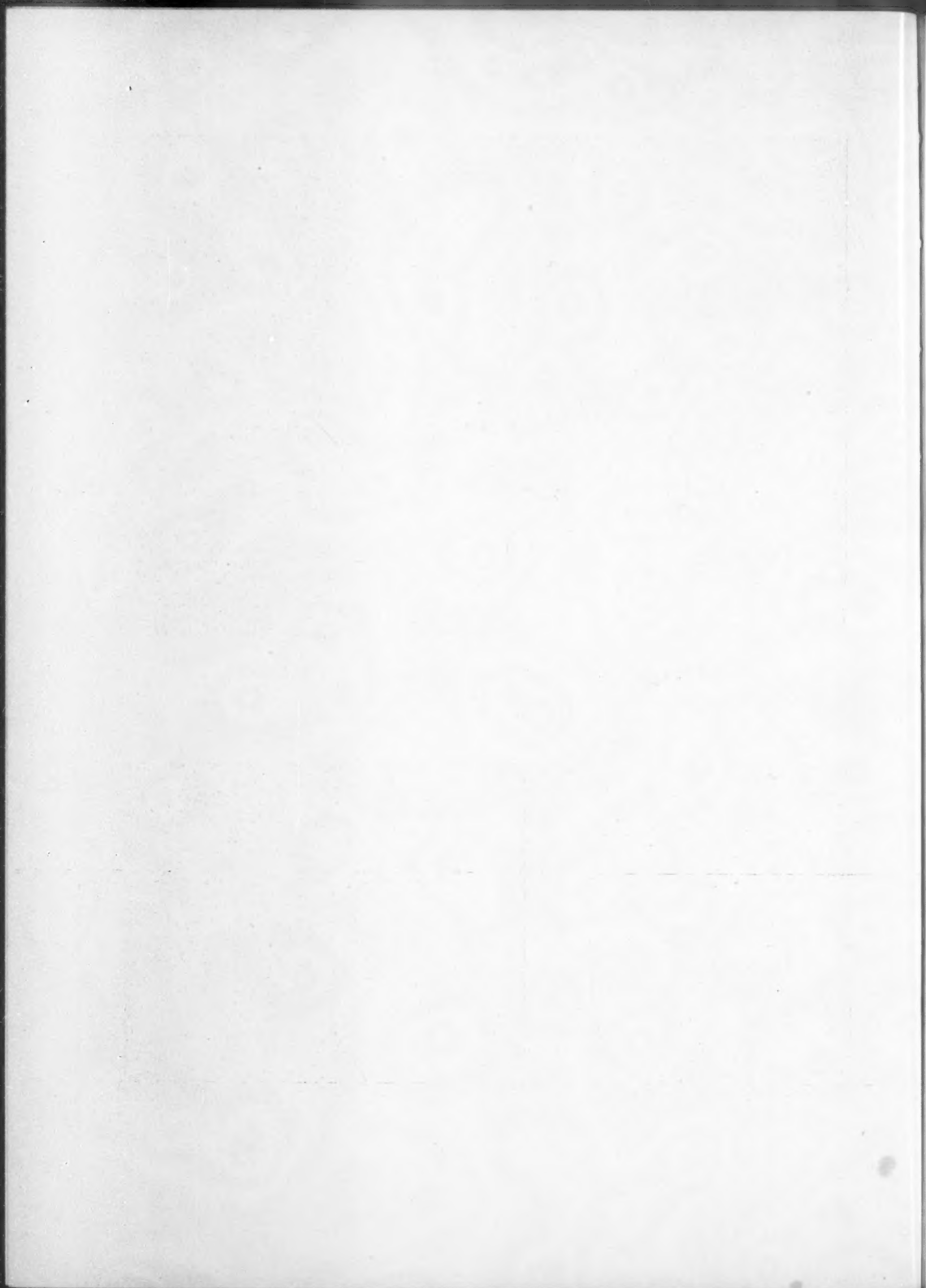
FIG. 1—*Paris, Louvre: Et in Arcadia ego, by Poussin*



FIG. 2—*Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Collection: Et in Arcadia ego, by Poussin*



FIG. 3—*Rome, Galleria Nazionale: Et in Arcadia ego, by Guercino*



Galleria Nazionale, Rome (Fig. 3). Guercino has exploited the dramatic possibilities of the theme in the manner of the Baroque realists, revealing the sudden shock with which the two Arcadian youths come upon the death's head. Its gruesomeness is heightened by a gnawing rat, a worm, and a fly.

In his first version (Fig. 2), Poussin has adopted the Baroque dramatic viewpoint. But there are two fundamental distinctions between this work and the Guercino. First, Poussin has eliminated the gruesome details and reduced the prominence of the *memento mori*, while contriving to sustain the tension by the introduction of the nymph, whose beauty intensifies the painfulness of the discovery. Secondly, he has made the legend *Et in Arcadia ego*, which in the Guercino is not visible to the Arcadians and exists only for the spectator, into a pictorial element of prime importance. This he has affected by "rationalizing" the legend, identifying it with an epitaph (note the typical two-line inscriptional form, in contrast to the single line in the Guercino), a product of human consciousness and activity. While Poussin has brought both the death's head and the legend within the Arcadians' field of vision, his intention is not explicit. All three would seem to be looking at the inscription, which the foremost is deciphering, but whether they have already learned of death by the sight of the skull atop the sarcophagus, or whether they are still unaware of it as they read the inscription, is not made clear.

The two distinctive motives, the woman and the epitaph, which we have already seen to be the two cardinal points in the later version, will necessarily serve as focal points in describing the transformation from the first to the second version. The radical alteration in type from the Titianesque ardent woman with bared breast and limb to the mature Raphaellesque young woman whose body is completely robed is explicable in terms of a radical change in function. In the first work it is precisely her erotic appeal that is used to heighten the dramatic contrast between the pleasures of youth and the sudden appearance of the face of death, in the spirit of the mediaeval morality themes.⁵ And in the second version, the chaste simplicity of the woman, her triumph over desire, is the necessary condition to her quiet, self-composed attitude at the discovery of death, an attitude which sets the tone for the entire work. A structural change essential to the realization of this idea is the substitution of an approximately parallel alignment of the figures for the recessive alignment suggestive of disturbance in the earlier version. An important aspect of this change is the transposition of the woman from the rearmost to the foremost plane of the figure group.

No less essential is the clarification of the rôle of the inscription. In substituting contemplative calm for emotional shock Poussin has eliminated the source

of that shock, the death's head, leaving only the indirect intellectual avenue of the inscription as the mode by which the Arcadians are apprised of death. The increased importance of the inscription is evident in its central focal position. (It even has an internal centrality lacking in the first version.) The very indirection implied in the use of the inscription without the skull is also important for the subtle progression, which is entirely lacking in the first version. (It is to be observed that the veiled diagonal in the second version is not a mechanical hangover from the first version, where the diagonal served a solely dramatic purpose, but is a device used to develop the psychological progression.) Finally the absence of the skull, sole point of reference for the legend in the Guercino, and one of the two points of reference in the first version of Poussin, gives the inscription in Poussin's second version no other point of reference than death as embodied in the occupant of the tomb.⁶ The elegiac spirit of this second version involves quiet reflection on death, but death encountered as the lot of one who also knew the bliss of Arcadian life, the realization of which makes bearable for these Arcadians the recognition of their own mortality.

JEROME KLEIN

6. In a special study of the problem of *Et in Arcadia ego* (published in *Philosophy and History, Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, edited by R. Klibansky and H. J. Paton, Oxford, 1936, pp. 223-254), Erwin Panofsky contends that most modern interpretations of the Arcadia theme are based on a grammatical error made by Félibien. Félibien states that *Et in Arcadia ego* means "I too (lived) in Arcadia" the "I" referring to the occupant of the tomb (celui qui est dans cette sépulture a vécu en Arcadie); whereas Panofsky holds it can be translated correctly only as "Even in Arcadia (am) I," the "I" referring to Death.

However, in Poussin's second version, Death is no longer attendant in the shape of the *memento mori*—there is only the tomb, indicating a particular death. (Panofsky, however, thinks Bellori's description—Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de Pittori, Scultori, et Architetti Moderni*, Rome, 1672, p. 448—interprets the tomb as a symbol of Death.) Consequently, Panofsky's allegedly purer Latin, i. e., the translation "Even in Arcadia (am) I," applied to this version, does not harmonize with the visual data of the work. It is therefore easy to see why Félibien (who might be expected to know what the Latin meant to a Frenchman of the seventeenth century) "mistranslated" the words to read "I too (lived) in Arcadia," since by this change he formulated the subtle transformation which Poussin himself had effected. Panofsky concedes Félibien's was a fruitful "error." How far Poussin was aware of the philological aspect of his use of the phrase in the modified context is difficult to determine.

THE VIRGIN SUCKLING ST. BERNARD.

In an article by Millard Meiss on *The Madonna of Humility* which appeared in the *Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), the author describes on pages 460-461 a Majorcan painting of the fourteenth century representing "St. Bernard.... kneeling before the Virgin (a statue of the Madonna del Latte 'come to life,' according to the legend) and drinking her milk." The author adduces other examples of the motif in Christian art, and cites literary references to the Virgin not only as "Mater omnium" but also as "Nutrix omnium." According to Meiss such "miraculous appearances" are illustrations of the Virgin's "charity." While this is certainly not incorrect, it ought also to be pointed out that the representation has not merely this edifying value but also a further and strictly metaphysical significance: that of a formal adoption. It would, moreover, accord with all that we know of

5. In the mediaeval works, Death is always a participant, albeit a skeletal one in the action. He has all the attributes of being. But in the humanistic works here under discussion, death is either figured by the inanimate skull, or instanced by the tomb of the dead person. In the Guercino, the skull may be considered the symbol of the being Death, who appears even in Arcadia, or it may be viewed as the remains of a person moldering away and being consumed, and an object of pity as well as fright for the Arcadians. The question of whether the skull is a symbolic object or realistic remains of a person (or both) is of prime importance for interpreting not only the Guercino, but also the Poussin works, as can be seen by consulting the footnote below.

St. Bernard as the exponent of a doctrine of *deificatio*, to suppose that the "miracle" had an especially appropriate application to him in this sense.

The motif itself illustrates particularly well the remark of Andrae (*Die ionische Säule, Bauform oder Symbol*, 1933, Schlusswort) that "a formal symbol can remain alive not only for millennia, but... can spring into life again after an interruption of thousands of years," because, as he adds, "the power from the spiritual world, which forms one part of the symbol, is eternal." The more ancient history of this symbolic suckling is in fact connected with Hercules; the theme has been discussed by Eva Fiesel, *The Hercules Legend on the Etruscan Mirror from Volterra*, in *Am. Journal of Philology*, LVII (1936), pp. 130-136. An engraving on this Etruscan mirror of the fourth century B. C. shows "Hercules as a bearded man, with his club and his lion's skin, in a half-kneeling position near Juno, who is offering him her breast.... This scene, showing Hercules on Olympus, apparently has a symbolic meaning; it represents the adoption of the hero by Juno. The act of suckling (implying a new birth) as a juristic symbol for the performance of an adoption is also known from other peoples. In the case of Hercules, his new birth is at the same time a resurrection. According to Bayet it includes the gift of immortality, since the suckling is performed by a deity." The subscribed legend is interpreted to read: *Haec (est) monstratio (?) quomodo (?) mortalis (?) Hercules Junonis filius factum sit*, or in place of *factum sit*, possibly *nascetur*, and this is evidently "an explanation of the significance of the action portrayed." The translation would be "Here is shown how the mortal Hercules became the legitimate son of Juno," or possibly "was [re-]born as the legitimate son of Juno." It is a matter of initiation, second birth, and recognition. In the same way we may say of the Majorcan painting that here is shown how the mortal Bernard became the legitimate son of the Virgin.

The fact is illustrated that symbols together with a knowledge of their spiritual significance have been continuously transmitted, uninterrupted by religious changes. Iconography and essential meaning represent an artistic constant, where style and application are merely variable accidents.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

STORIA DELL'ARTE ITALIANA. By Adolfo Venturi, Vol. X: LA SCULTURA DEL CINQUECENTO. Parts i, ii, iii. Milan, Utrico Hoepli, 1935-1937. XXIX, 851 pp.; 638 illustrations: Lire 160. XXII, 757 pp.; 638 illustrations: Lire 150. XXIX, 1001 pp.; 873 illustrations: Lire 190.

More than thirty-five years ago Prof. Venturi published the first volume of his history of Italian art. One must marvel that he has been able to carry on this ambitious work through times not always propitious for such an undertaking, that he has added volume to volume, and advanced from period to period. One notices with pleasure how each new volume marks progress in comparison to the preceding one with regard to technical perfection, especially in the number and quality of the illustrations. Somewhat disquieting however is the fact that the more the work progresses, the more it gains in breadth; while the

whole sculpture of the Quattrocento was compressed into one volume, that of the Cinquecento extends over three. In the dictionary of artists by Thieme and Becker we have an example of the consequences such procedure can have; but perhaps it is wrong to surrender too quickly to pessimism, especially as we have in the good old dictionary of artists by Nagler a proof that one actually can finish a work successfully in this way.

Prof. Venturi's book goes more and more into detail: it tries to mention every work of each artist, and it includes also second and third rate artists with careful and elaborate discussions. It thus displays a wealth to which we have not been accustomed in this kind of general handbook. The almost bewildering richness of detail, and the fact that the biographical information regarding the single artist is not given in a readable biography, but in a kind of chronological table, may be a drawback to the average reader. The heavily loaded volumes are almost impossible to read from the beginning to the end, and so it is not easy even for a specialist in this field to discover the leading ideas.

On the other hand, a specialist on Italian sculpture and everybody interested in this subject must welcome these volumes with great pleasure, since they make available for the first time material which, except in the case of a few artists, as Michelangelo and Cellini, was known only to very few or was not known at all. Italian sculpture of the later Renaissance has in the last fifty years been a foster child of art criticism. And if lately a few critics—the reviewer confesses to belong to them—have tried to explore the vast areas of this field, it has been made in slow steps, touching here upon a detailed question, trying there an attribution or an identification. Only slowly a more general vision of the whole development of Italian sculpture of the sixteenth century begins to shape itself. The parallel development of painting has been much more studied and we have seen many attempts to explain the curious phenomena this period offers. "Mannerism" in painting is in the not very enviable position of being almost the fashion. I do not wish to pass judgment on the value of the many different theories and systems developed in these inquiries. I am only glad that this first publication of the sculpture is free from prejudice and theory.

Prof. Venturi has given us the first complete history of Italian sculpture of the later Renaissance. He spreads out in his volumes almost the complete material. The chronological lists of dates for each artist are meant to supply all the documentary evidence, as in most cases they do, though some of them seem not to be quite complete. The discussion of the works furnishes a catalogue of the oeuvre of each artist (here it would have been helpful to have had some indication of why certain works are included and others not and when they should be dated. But the most useful work the author has done is to supply us with optical evidence. We must be grateful to him that in many instances, especially in the case of signed or documented works not yet available in reproductions he has spared no trouble and expense in getting photographs made. And since he has not contented himself as a rule with a single photograph of each object, but has included many fine details, especially useful for the large, tall, and consequently insufficiently visible monuments of this period, his volumes are

full of completely new photographic material. Thus they will be basic for all students of later Renaissance sculpture.

Venturi's work reveals how central the position of Italy was still in this period, which we have accustomed ourselves somewhat rashly to characterize as one of decline. Every student of sixteenth century sculpture, be it Spanish, French, German, or Flemish, will now recognize the necessity of knowing well the Italian material of this period. And still more: could not certain of the statues and reliefs reproduced in these volumes be added to the stock of works of art which are common property of a larger public, which are in the minds of everybody? The camera has often before opened the way to a general understanding of hitherto ignored classes of works of art. Everybody now knows the great monuments of mediaeval European art, while thirty years ago the sculptures of Chartres and the paintings of Grünewald did not mean anything to most people. We may choose quite casually a few examples from Prof. Venturi's book which could be popular favorites: the Madonnas by Antonello Gagini (vol. I, figs. 629-30), which have so often a gentle monumentality that is almost Raphaelesque; the statuette of S. Giustina by Pyrgoteles (vol. I, fig. 339), which has the sweetness and gracefulness of the best Tanagra terra-cottas; the bronze statuette by Ammanati in the Palazzo Vecchio (vol. II, figs. 351-4); portraits by Jacopo Sansovino, such as that of Tommaso Rangone (vol. II, fig. 552), or by Alessandro Vittoria (vol. III, figs. 126-8); the Boboli Garden Venus by Giovanni Bologna (vol. III, figs. 600-3), the delicate chiselwork of which merits even still better photographs than those here reproduced; the unfinished Prophet by Campagna in the Scuola di S. Rocco (vol. III, figs. 203-4), with his rich drapery, which has the gorgeous qualities of those painted by Titian and Veronese.

It was certainly difficult to arrange this material in a way that would satisfy the exigencies of chronology and show the coherence of certain sculptors' families and schools. And there are cases where one might wish to argue with the author as to his placing of artists.

The first volume includes the beginnings of what may be called the more classic tendency in the Cinquecento, and shows how this tendency grew slowly out of the art of the preceding century. Here one follows the author willingly as long as he deals with the North Italian schools, of Mantua, Padua, Venice, Milan, etc. But I am less confident about the rôle assigned to Leonardo da Vinci in the development of sculpture in Florence. I cannot make myself believe that he was so important as to deserve the whole opening chapter of the book. Most significant of course is Andrea Sansovino, whose position as the great teacher of a good many of the sculptors of the earlier sixteenth century is brought out very clearly. As strange relics of the preceding century and com-

pletely unable to adapt themselves to the change of taste and therefore doomed to an inglorious end, we find in this *milieu* the last members and followers of the Robbia family.

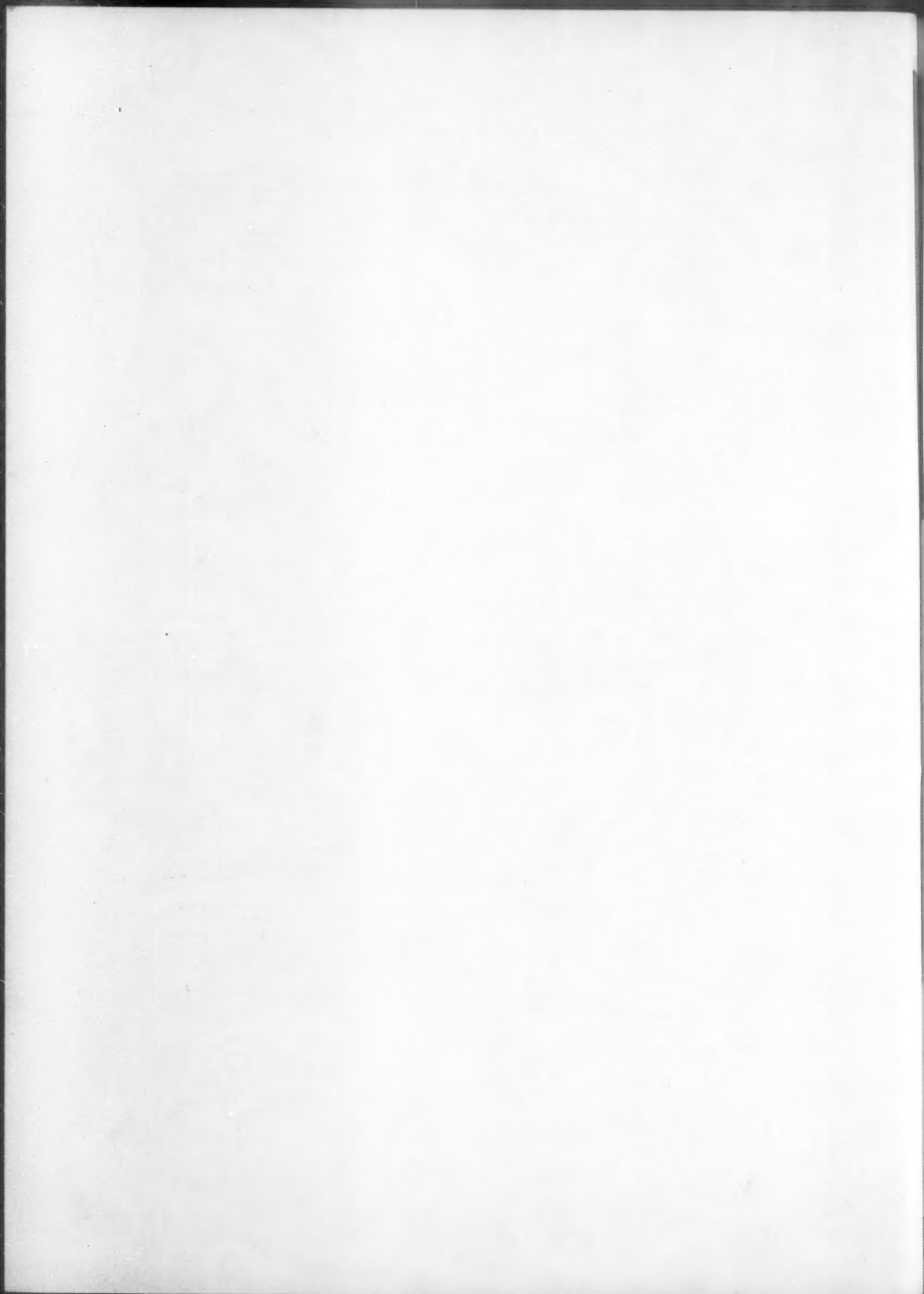
The second volume deals with Michelangelo and his followers, who constitute the second big group of sculptors in the Cinquecento, the anti-classical group, we might call them. The difficulty in definitely dividing these groups is seen in the fact that Jacopo Sansovino has a place in both volumes: in the first is his early work, and in the second is his Venetian period which came under the influence of Michelangelo. I do not know whether such an arrangement is advisable, especially in this case, for Jacopo Sansovino never lost the fundamentally classical mood even in the works where he made the greatest concession to the style of Michelangelo or, perhaps more precisely stated, to the Michelangelesque qualities in the latest development of Raphael.

Somewhat lost, we find at the end of the second volume an interesting group of artists who are little known, but who deserve all our attention. They are the bronze casters from Recanati, Loreto, and other places in the Marche, who produced most interesting decorative work and ought to be taken much more into consideration in the attribution of later Renaissance bronzes. Essentially this school was of Venetian descent, as was the family Lombardi, who played the leading parts in it. Probably it was included in this volume in order to avoid an overcrowding of the third volume.

The third, and final, volume (or *part*) is dedicated to the main schools of the second half of the century: the Venetian, which appears here in all the splendor of its gay Palladian style; the Lombard, which sent its best forces to Rome, where they created in collaboration with sculptors coming from all the other centers, even from abroad, a kind of international, perhaps a bit colorless, style which prepared the universality of the coming Baroque; and finally the Florentine school, which prepared the quintessence of the new creed, and which in Giovanni Bologna, Pietro Bernini, Orazio and Francesco Mocchi saw the immediate forerunners of G. L. Bernini, the great poet of the new century.

It is quite impossible to enter into any discussion of details. Only positive work done on the new basis which these volumes form can show where the author is right and where he is wrong. One might perhaps like to have some attributions changed, some other works included, and some missing artists added. One might regret that the time which elapsed between preparing and printing the book, has made the bibliographies appear already out of date. But all that does not affect the importance of the book and the admiration we owe to its author.

ULRICH MIDDELDORF



ERRATA

In *The Paintings of Francisco de Herrera, the Elder*, by John S. Thacher, captions 12 and 21 have been interchanged. On Page 333, Line 5, for "Tailpiece" read "Fig. 39."

In *Anequin de Egas Cucman, a Fleming in Spain*, by Harold E. Wethey, Figures 5 and 6, and Figures 15 and 16 have been interchanged. In preparing this manuscript for publication certain revisions were deemed necessary for pure English wording. On Page 385, Line 12, "slight judgment" was modified to "superficial judgment," mistakenly omitting the word "only." Therefore for "superficial judgment . . .," read "Definitive judgment cannot be passed on sculpture so damaged." On Page 400, Line 3, likewise, "on the basis of the Tree of Jesse" was modified to "on consideration . . .," for which now read "on the evidence of. . . ." To note 9, at the author's request after publication, add, "A. Wauters, *A propos de l'exposition nationale d'architecture*, Brussels, 1885, p. 32."